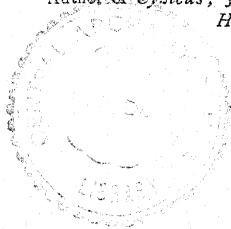


ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

BY THE LATE

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Hundred Gates at Paros*



WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

SINCE Athelstan Riley's *Mountain of the Monks* no book has appeared in English dealing with the subject of Athos in general, though much has been published, both here and abroad, on special points. There seems room therefore for a book of moderate price, an important consideration in the case of so unique a subject.

The present volume is intended to serve, first, as an introduction to Athos for the general reader, for whose benefit I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep Greek words out of the text, and, secondly, as a guide to visitors on the spot. The bibliography given at the end of the book is some index of my indebtedness, especially on the historical side, to the labours of others.

F. W. HASLUCK

EDITORIAL PREFACE

'ATHOS and Its Monasteries,' as now published, was practically complete by 1912, but, wishing to add a chapter on the changes brought to the Mountain by the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, my husband delayed publication in order to revisit the monasteries. The outbreak of the European War made this impossible. For a time war work in Athens absorbed all his energy, then his health sent him to Switzerland, and there censorship regulations prevented his having access to his manuscripts until his strength had failed.

For these reasons the final revision of the book for press remained for me to undertake. I have brought it up to date, and in addition it has appeared advisable to make a few minor changes in arrangement. Otherwise the text is as my husband left it. Such slight additions as have been made to the footnotes follow his directions and come from his Swiss notebooks and letters.

The spelling is his, systematised but not strictly orthodox. Unless otherwise indicated, Greek

EDITORIAL PREFACE

proper names are to be accented on the second-last syllable.

The water-colour sketches and the photographs are by my husband: he deposited the negatives of these and many other photographs with the Hellenic Society, where they may be consulted. My thanks are due to the Committee of the British School at Athens for the gift of electrotypes for Plates 22*a*, 25*b*, 29, 31; to the editors of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* for permission to reproduce Plate 9; to Messrs. Brockhaus, Leipzig, for permission to reproduce Fig. 2, and Plates 8 and 10. The hypothetical plan of a typical monastery (Fig. 1) was kindly drawn for me by the Rev. Dr. W. A. Wigram, D.D.; the sketch-map (Fig. 3) by Mr. W. B. Dukes, who has also superintended the illustrations in general. The index, the glossary, and the revised bibliography are by myself. Throughout the editing generous help has been given by Mr. G. F. Hill.

MARGARET M. HARDIE

(MRS. F. W. HASLUCK)

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PART I
HISTORY AND MONASTIC SYSTEM

POURTRAIT DE LA MONTAGNE D'ATHOS
(From Belon, *Portraits d'Oiseaux*)

CHAPTER I

ATHOS AND THE WAY THITHER

MUCH of the difficulty and not a little of the romance of a pilgrimage to Athos has vanished with the coming of steam. It is steam to-day that brings you to Salonica, whether you travel by land or by water, and steam that carries you down the long bay with the low, treeless shore of the Chalcidice on your left and snow-crowned Olympus on your right, till at length, as you turn eastward into the open sea, the Holy Mountain rises upon your view—a high ridge running out into the sea for thirty wooded miles to culminate at length in a single perfect peak rising straight from the water—Mount Athos.

The voyage may have been more poetical not so many years ago before steamers were at your service, but a short experience of Aegean sailing-boats and Aegean weather¹ is apt to reconcile you

¹ Pilgrims to Athos should bear in mind that the climate of Athos is more northern than that of Greece and that spring

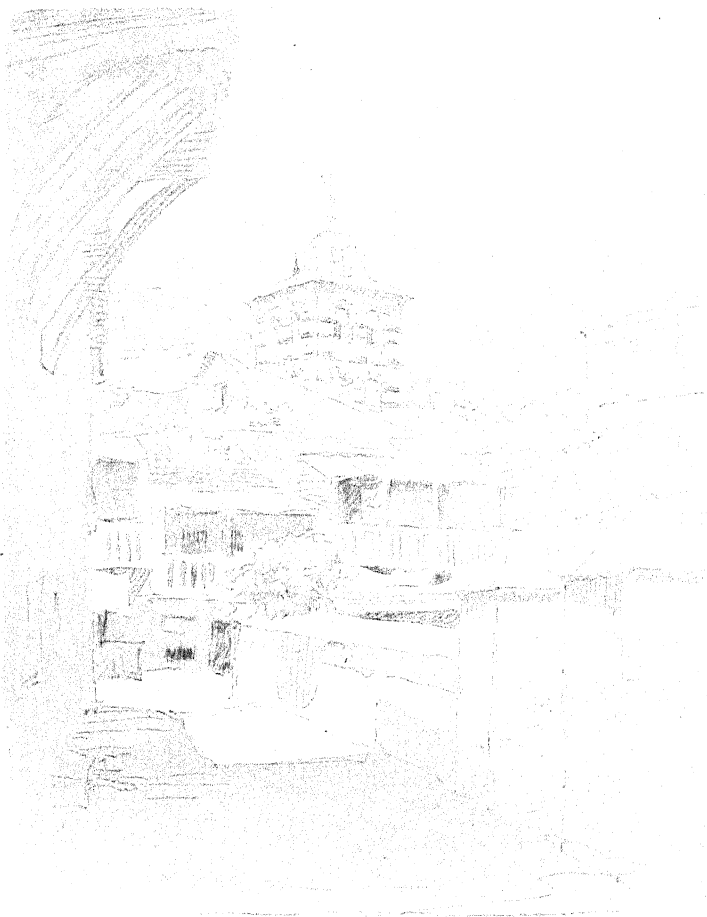
ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

to these supplanters, which at least make it possible for the ordinary person to pay a flying visit to one of the most interesting communities in the world—a theocratic republic verging on its thousandth year of unchallenged dominion, and forty-eight hours from Vienna.

To-day with your steamer you will find strange contrasts on your pious, learned, or merely curious voyage. Russian pilgrims, it may be, in sheep-skin coats and high boots, jostling journalists and insurance agents—for nowadays monks subscribe to papers and insure their lives—but at least you reach your destination; and yesterday with a sailing-boat you never could tell.

The port of the Mountain—Daphne, on the southern shore of the peninsula—is an open roadstead with a few houses and the inevitable church on the shore. The customs examination is purely formal. Passports are collected on landing and sent up to Karyès, the administrative centre, whence, if the traveller intends to return by another way, they can be sent to meet him at Daphne.

comes late and suddenly. For comfort the months from May to July inclusive are to be preferred : in the height of summer the heat is not unbearable and the nights cool.



KARYÈS

face p. 4

ATHOS AND THE WAY THITHER

Once landed, you are quit of modernity. There are few reminders at all of the outside world, and those few are for the most part confined to the shops—such as they are—at the port and the village capital. Here you find such things as tea (probably an innovation of the Russians), various kinds of tinned fish, and even condensed milk and picture-postcards, besides the necessities of life. But these are incidental anachronisms. Anachronistic, too, are your passport and your letter of introduction¹ from the Greek Foreign Office or the Greek Governor-General of Macedonia. This same introductory letter has itself to be submitted to the monastic government at Karyès, and, if approved, exchanged for another, sealed with the common seal and couched in formal terms, to recommend your learned Excellency to the hospitality of the monasteries. Without the second letter you can enter no monastery save by favour.

To enter, you dismount, unless you are a very important personage indeed, some distance from the gate and walk with due humility to the porter's

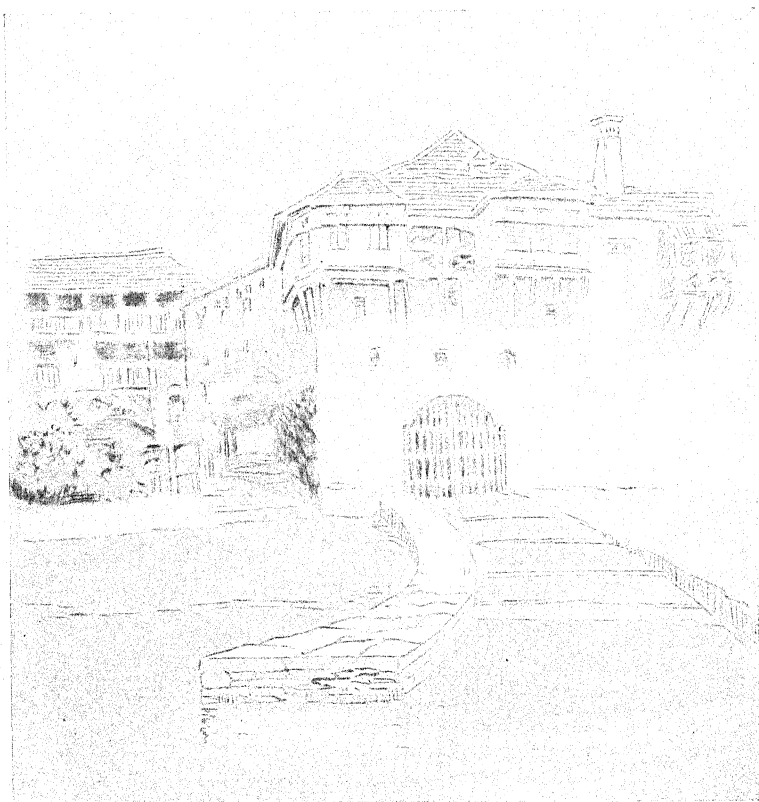
¹ The older procedure was to procure the introductory letter from the Greek Patriarchate at Constantinople, but the Balkan and European Wars made it difficult to approach the Patriarchate.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

lodge where your letter is shewn, and it is with a certain not unpleasant formality that you are led, without loitering to admire the court, upstairs to the guest-chamber, gravely welcomed, and regaled Eastern fashion with a spoonful of jam, a tiny cup of black coffee, and a thimbleful of liqueur. Even if you wished, there is no course but to accept the hospitality of the monasteries, since, save at Karyès and Daphne, there exist no other hostelryes, and both here and there you lie in houses owned and supervised by the monkish community. Every square inch in this thirty miles of peninsula belongs to one or other of the great foundations, and on it no woman, nay, no female animal, may set foot, as it was in the beginning nearly a thousand years ago.

Given your credentials, you journey freely from monastery to monastery ; if you wish, a mule is provided by your hosts for your next stage ; if you prefer a lay mule, it also and its master are lodged and fed during your stay. You are free to go, you are welcome to stay.¹ Though no

¹ The conventional term of a stay in a monastery is not more than three days, unless the visitor has a special object such as library work. A money present may be left in the church and is generally acceptable to the guest-master.



XENOPHONTOS

ATHOS AND THE WAY THITHER

pressure is put upon you, you will conform to the rule of the house, taking care not to smoke in the court, to cross yourself on entering the church or beginning a meal (if you would not put yourself outside the pale of Christendom), and (if you would shew gratitude to your hosts) attending once at least the ancient and venerable service of the church. Without a moderate stock of modern Greek, you will neither receive nor give so much pleasure as with it: yet in either case you will see, hear, and understand far more than enough richly to repay your journey.

The fare and accommodation of guests in the monasteries depend naturally both on the resources of the monastery and on the status of the guests. The guest-rooms (*ἀρχονταρίκια*) are generally in the best part of the building and, in my experience at least, clean and comfortable in the manner of the country. A great house has a whole corridor of guest-rooms, and such innovations as modern furniture and iron bedsteads in place of the simple divan. As might be expected, the views from the windows, whether they look outwards on woods or sea or inwards on the irregular court crowded with buildings, combine with the

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

ancient silence or the characteristic clatter of the wooden gongs (σίμαντρα) to make up an impression which does not easily fade from the memory.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONASTIC SYSTEM ON ATHOS¹

LITTLE or nothing is known of Athos in ancient times, save the attempt of Xerxes to cut the isthmus in order to avoid the circumnavigation of the notorious headland by his fleet—traces of the canal are said still to survive²—and the bare fact of the existence of small Greek settlements on its shores. The location of these must rest purely on the arguments of common-sense; too much has been made in this connection of the existence of ancient marbles at various monasteries, which, like towns elsewhere, are apt to attract figured monuments. Considering the property owned by the Mountain on the other

¹ This and the subsequent chapters on the history of the monastic communities of Athos are largely derived from Meyer's *Haupturkunden* and Kirsopp Lake's *Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos*. ² See especially A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*, i: *Chalkidike*, pp. 68 ff.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

prongs of the Chalcidic peninsula, which we know to have been thickly populated in ancient times, we cannot wonder that, situated, as they are, chiefly on the sea, the monasteries have claimed some share of the treasure-trove of their colonies. There is in any case no evidence for considering Athos one of those places which have been widely regarded with religious awe since the dawn of history.

The traditions assigning the foundation of this or that monastery to Constantine are again to be received with scepticism or extreme caution. All over the Greek world Constantine, the Christian hero and 'Equal of the Apostles,' is a legendary figure capable of supporting any quantity of pious legends. Athos, where miracles and wonders were (and doubtless are) seen almost daily by fasting anchorites, is not a place where we should expect a critical spirit, and, now that the beginnings of monastic life on the Mountain have been investigated, there is less reason than ever to give credence to legends of foundations earlier than the tenth century.

The apocryphal traditions referring to the beginnings of monasticism on Athos have been

EARLY HISTORY

printed by Lambros.¹ In them the first Christianizing of the Mountain is attributed not to Constantine but to the Virgin herself. Mary, says the legend, desiring to visit Lazarus in Cyprus, set sail from Joppa, and was carried by a contrary wind to Athos, where there were then a temple and an oracle of Apollo. The Virgin landed at the port of Clement,² 'where there is now a monastery': at her coming all the idols cried aloud, bidding the Athonites go down to meet Mary the Mother of God, and they, doing so, were converted, the Virgin bestowing a special blessing on the Mountain before her departure. In the sequel the Mountain is gradually abandoned to hermits, and the idolatrous cities replaced by Christian sanctuaries built by Constantine,³ who was the first to erect the church at the harbour of Clement and on the site of the Hall of Assembly where the Athonites had received the Virgin.

¹ Πάτρια τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὄρους, in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 1912, ix, pp. 116-161, 209-244.

² This is identified with a site near the monastery of Iveron (see below, p. 162), where a well-authenticated 'monastery of Clement' stood in the tenth century. Smyrnakes (Ἀγίου Ὄρος, p. 460) says Clement was a bishop who converted the Athonites in the third century.

³ The churches of Karyès, Iveron, and Vatopedi are attributed to Constantine, as is the foundation of Kastamonitou, the latter on false etymology alone.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

These and other such legends obviously spring, partly from pious credulity, partly from a desire to give one monastery or other exalted status. In the same way, we find that the monks of Xeropotamou, rebuilding their ruined monastery in the late eighteenth century, deliberately forged inscriptions of their reputed founder. The same pious patriotism is responsible even for forged deeds, which are by no means unheard of on Athos and were probably devised to bolster up the claims of rival monasteries in the boundary disputes which were a constant source of quarrels and scandal.

The hagiographical sources for the history of monasticism on Athos have been examined by Professor Kirsopp Lake in a separate monograph¹ and lead unanimously to the conclusion that hermits began to frequent the Mountain about the middle of the ninth century, a little more than a hundred years before the foundation of the earliest existent monastery. These conclusions are based on a critical examination of the *Lives* of Peter the Athonite and Euthymius of Thessalonica, while, for the intermediate development of monastic

¹ *Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos*, pp. 8 ff.

EARLY HISTORY

institutions, the *Life of Athanasius* and certain documents relating to the monastery of Kolobòs at Erissòs are our chief authorities.

Peter the Athonite, having vowed to become a monk, went as a soldier to Syria, says the legend, and was captured and imprisoned by the Arabs at Samara. This misfortune he attributed to his broken vow, which he fulfilled after his release, being made a monk by the Pope. After a miraculous voyage he came to Athos and lived for fifty years in a cave. At his death his relics were removed to the monastery of Clement. The mention of Samara dates the *Life* between 838 and 892: the connection with the Pope points to the period of the iconoclastic controversy which ceased in 842.¹

Euthymius of Thessalonica² became a monk in 841 and, after spending some time in a *lavra* of the Bithynian Olympus called Pissadinòn, came to Athos, and lived as a hermit for three years. About 862 he became head of a *lavra* on Athos. After a short absence he returned with two companions, John Kolobòs and Symeon, but found the Mountain harassed by pirates, so that the

¹ Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40 ff.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

three parted company, both Euthymius and John settling in the Chalcidice. From this *Life* we glean¹ that from the middle of the ninth century there were hermits on Athos, the loosely connected associations of monks called *lavrae* being a development of Euthymius' lifetime: there is, however, no mention of a monastery proper at this date.

John Kolobòs² is mentioned again as the head of a monastery bearing his name at Erissòs, and about 875 he received an imperial charter (*chrysoboullon*) establishing his protectorate over the monks of Athos. At his death the monks of his monastery, in virtue of a forged document, seized the territory of the Athonite monks, who made a successful appeal to Constantinople against them. Their representative, Andreas, is styled 'first hesychast' (πρῶτος ἡσυχαστῆς), which is the first mention of the afterwards important *Prôtos* or 'Primate' of Athos. The successful appeal is the beginning of the organisation of the Athonite hermits.

The *Life of Athanasius* shews a considerable development by the middle of the tenth century. The official representative of the communities is

¹ Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.

EARLY HISTORY

the *Prôtos*, the administrative centre is already Karyès,¹ and the three great feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Assumption are kept there: monastic communities, probably of the loosely associated *lavra* type, exist at Karyès, Zygoù, and Xeropotamou.² These *lavrae* represent the intermediate stage in the evolution from independent hermitages to the present highly organised monastery system.

The third stage in the development of the communities of the Mountain was the foundation in the middle of the tenth century of the monastery of Lavra, which was followed almost immediately by a number of foundations on the same model.

The founder of Lavra, Athanasius the Athonite, was the orphan child of rich parents from

¹ The Monastery of Clement is represented as decayed in Athanasius' time. ² This is Prof. Lake's view (p. 92) as against the prevailing acceptance of Erissòs as the original centre of the Athonite communities on the ground of the mention of a 'Seat' or 'Residence' (*καθέδρα τῶν γερόντων*) at Erissòs. Professor Lake holds that the 'Residence' was a house kept up by the monastery of Kolobòs for the entertainment of Athonites passing through Erissòs (pp. 63, 97). Kolobòs was finally absorbed by Athos, John the Iberian exchanging for it monasteries in Trebizond and Constantinople: he built a house for the Athonites in Erissòs, perhaps continuing the tradition.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

Trebizond and brought up by relatives in Constantinople. He there met Michael Maleïnòs, abbot of the monastery of Kyminàs in Asia Minor, and entered his convent. Here he became acquainted with Nicephorus Phocas, afterwards emperor, and was appointed his confessor. As Michael Maleïnòs aged, he looked to Athanasius to succeed him, but the latter, owing apparently to the austerity of his views, disliked the idea and fled to Athos, where he lived for some time as an unknown monk at the monastery of Zygoù (τοῦ Ζυγοῦ). Towards 960 his identity was discovered and he was assigned a special cell, near Karyès according to some accounts, but the cell now shewn as his is in a steep cliff-face not far from Lavra. About the same time Nicephorus Phocas submitted to Athanasius his project for the building of Lavra; he intended at this time himself also to take the vows, but in 963, to the anger of Athanasius, he was crowned emperor. Partly as atonement he began at once to build the new monastery: the earliest church seems to have been built about this date. Athanasius himself died about 1000 owing to the fall of the dome of the church then building.¹

¹ From Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, Part II, pp. 22-5, based on monastic documents and *Acta Athanasii*; cf. Lake, pp. 90-1.

EARLY HISTORY

As laid down by the founder, the regulations of the new monastery were closely modelled on those of the monastery of St. John of the Studium at Constantinople. It was essentially a *coenobion*, the life being lived in common by a brotherhood of eighty persons, who were not allowed to possess property and were discouraged even from making a gift of it to the monastery on joining the brotherhood, lest they should think they had a claim upon the foundation. Novices were on trial for a period of one to three years. The abbot held his office normally for life and was absolute. He appears at first to have chosen his successor in his lifetime: later the election was made by a council of fifteen leading monks and an official called a 'trustee' (ἐπίτροπος). The latter was apparently empowered in extreme cases to remove an unworthy abbot.

Hermit-monks living on the old lines in cells outside the monastery were discouraged in the new brotherhood, and their number restricted to five, who were chosen for their proved saintly character. They lived either alone or by twos, and received yearly a small sum of money and a dole of corn from the monastery.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

As to external government, Lavra was by the will of Nicephorus made independent of imperial superintendence. The relations both of it and the other monasteries of Athos with the Patriarch were rather vague and will be touched on in the sequel.¹

It is easy to understand the jealousy caused among the humbler and looser brotherhoods by the establishment of this large, compact, and wealthy foundation backed by imperial favour, and subsequent history shows that the new system was fatal to the old. Athanasius, as we have seen, disapproved in principle of independent extra-mural hermitages, and the foundation of the other great houses implied the extinction of this independence, since the monasteries in the end became ground-landlords of the whole territory.

It is instructive at this point to give the names and foundation-dates of the twenty monasteries which survive till our own day. As the lists published by Gedeon² show, the number of monasteries had a tendency to decrease, owing to the eating up of the less by the greater.

The twenty in chronological order with their

¹ See pp. 26-7.

² 'O' *Aθws*, p. 129.

EARLY HISTORY

dedications¹ and dates of festivals (Old Style)
are according to Brockhaus² :—

TENTH CENTURY

Lavra, 963 . . .	Assumption (15 Aug.)
Iveron, 976 . . .	Assumption (15 Aug.)
Vatopedi, after 972 . .	Annunciation (25 Mar.)
Philotheou, before 992 .	Annunciation (25 Mar.)

ELEVENTH CENTURY

Xeropotamou, c. 1030 .	Forty Martyrs (9 Mar.)
Esphigmenou, early Eleventh Century . . .	Ascension
Docheiariou, before 1046	St. Nicolas (6 Dec.), afterwards St. Michael (8 Nov.)
St. Paul's, c. 1050 . . .	St. George (23 Apr.), later Purification (2 Feb.)
Karakallou, c. 1070 . .	SS. Peter and Paul (29 June)
Xenophontos, c. 1070 ³ .	St. George (23 Apr.)
Kastamonitou, c. 1086 .	St. Stephen (27 Dec.)
Koutloumousiou, 1081-1118	Transfiguration (6 Aug.)

¹ The Mountain itself is dedicated to the Assumption.

² *Athoskl.*, pp. 6 ff. ³ Smyrnakes, however, puts the foundation c. 1010 (*Ἀγιον Ὄρος*, p. 618).

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

TWELFTH CENTURY

- Russikò, before 1169 (?) . St. Panteleëmon (27 July)
Chilandari, 1197 . . . Presentation (21 Nov.)

THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- Zographou, c. 1270. . St. George (23 Apr.)

FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- Pantokrátoros, before 1363 Transfiguration (6 Aug.)
Simópetra, 1363 . . . Nativity (25 Dec.)
Dionysiou, 1375 . . . St. John Baptist (24 June)
Gregoriou, 1341-91 . St. Nicolas (6 Dec.)

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- Stavroniketa, 1541. . St. Nicolas (6 Dec.)

With regard to these monasteries it will be noted that as a rule each has founders of two sorts, viz. the monastic founder, to whom the conception is generally due, and the lay founder, generally an imperial or princely personage, who provides the funds and influence. The monastic founders are either single hermits or groups of

EARLY HISTORY

three *celliot*s. The monastery takes its name, as does the cell to-day, from its chief inmates, so that most monastery names are those of persons in the genitive. A new foundation obtains land by purchase, this purchase being ratified by the *Prôtos*, or, in early times, the emperor.

CHAPTER III

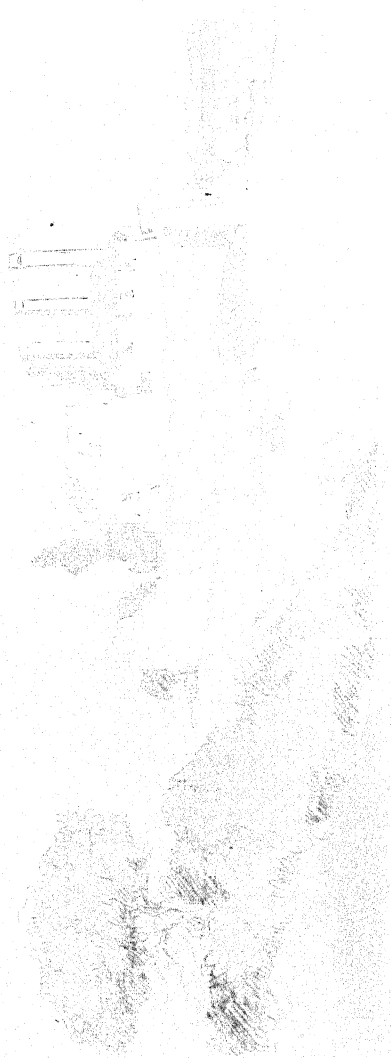
THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST

IN tracing the history of a community so aloof from the world as that of Athos external politics are less important than internal developments.¹ Indeed, the only continuous interest on which the historian can concentrate is the evolution of the administrative system, which is affected comparatively slightly by events in the world. The tendency throughout is a transference of supremacy from the *Prôtos* of the original hermit-community to the greater monasteries.

As far as the dim outlines can be made out, the type of Athanasius' foundation was followed at once by a very large number of more or less important foundations, which absorbed or subjected the independent hermit-associations. These monasteries seem to have reached their greatest number by the latter half of the eleventh century. An

¹ Politically, Athos hung with Salonica till the Balkan Wars.

Plate 5



CHILANDARI : PYRGOS VASILIOU

[face p. 22

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

holy ground—the monks are seldom charged with immorality in so many words but their critics are themselves of the community. Most of the abuses are traceable to the same relaxation in discipline which later brought about the ‘idiorhythmic’ system,¹ and they result regularly in the impoverishment of the foundations. The remedy is sought, not, as in the West so often, in the formulation of a stricter ‘Rule,’ but by a stricter application of existing laws. The reason is partly that the so-called ‘Rule’ of St. Basil, which is the Rule followed by the Athos monks, was not a Rule in the Western sense, since it laid down only the ethical code of the monastic life: the actual rule observed was the *typikòn* of the individual monastery which, being varied, was not applicable to the whole community.

The *Prôtos* of Athos, or head of the community, existed, as we have seen, already a century before Athanasius. He seems from analogies in other parts of the Orthodox world to have been the representative and spokesman of the whole group of monasteries and hermitages, and he was selected by the Emperor from a small number of monks

¹ See p. 34.

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approved by the community and sent to Constantinople for the purpose. We have nothing like a general view of the administration of Athos by the *Prôtos* till the appeal of the Athonites against Lavra in 971 and the consequent *typikôn* of Tzimiskes.¹ By this time the hermits' cells had in many cases grown into small monasteries but without prejudicing the independence of the rest. The seat of the *Prôtos* and the centre of the community was already by the tenth century Karyès. The *Prôtos* was assisted by a steward (*οἰκονόμος*), who regulated the market and financial affairs of the community in general, and also by an *ecclesiarches*, who superintended the central church and its services. Both these offices occur also in the monasteries and there is every reason to suppose that the church of Karyès was originally the centre of a group of hermits, which did not develop in the usual way² on account of its special position.

The deliberative council was the Assembly of the old men, affairs of secondary importance being regulated by the *oekonomus* assisted by three or four abbots. From the *typikôn* of Constantine

¹ Lake, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff. ² i.e. from *κελλίον* to *λαῦρα*.

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Monomachus (1046) we gather that 180 monks took part in the assembly, and that the monastic, as opposed to the hermit, system was already established. Lavra (with 700 monks), Vatopedi, and Iveron were already leading houses, as was the vanished monastery of the Amalfitans: the cells were subordinated to the monasteries and there are indications that the dignity of the abbot of Lavra tended to encroach on that of the *Prôtos*. Significant either of decadence or of better supervision is the fact that the moral state of the Mountain was considered already to have changed for the worse, and that it was thought necessary to lay stress on the old regulations against the admission of beardless persons and female animals and for the restriction of trade.

A century later, under Alexius Comnenus, the occurrence of a great scandal on Athos throws some interesting light on the relations between the community and the Patriarch as opposed to the Emperor, from whom the control was evidently passing.

Three hundred families of nomad shepherds from the mainland had settled with permission of the monks within the frontiers of the Mountain,

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where they pastured their flocks and purveyed their produce to the monks. The abbot of Lavra, who was (perhaps significantly) also *Prôtos*, brought the scandal before the Patriarch, and, receiving instructions which were in his opinion more lenient than the case merited, he forged a patriarchal document expelling the shepherds and excommunicating the monks concerned. Appeal being made to Alexius, he reproved the Patriarch for his interference ; the latter, while repudiating the document, insisted that he had the right to interfere. In the course of regulating the affair it was laid down that appeal lay from the *Prôtos* to the Patriarch, not to the Emperor. Yet it was Alexius who gave the Bishop of Erissòs sole right, subject to the formal consent of the *Prôtos*, of ordaining priests from Athonite monks.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Eastern empire fell on evil days and the monastic community suffered in various ways. During the Latin occupation of Constantinople Athos fell to the kingdom of Salonica and was placed ecclesiastically under the Papal legate. 'The Pope' is still credited, on Athos as elsewhere, with pillage and violence, though the fault actually lay with

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his subordinates who raided the peninsula from the land side. Innocent III himself intervened on behalf of the monks, and Iveron seems to have formally subscribed to the Roman tenets.

During this period the monks, cut off from Emperor and Patriarch, probably elected their own *Prôtos*.¹ When affairs were regularised after the expulsion of the Latins, the election was made by the Patriarch, not by the Emperor. A subsequent regulation of the Patriarch Philótheos (1368)² subordinated the *Prôtos* and monasteries to the Bishop of Erissòs, but this seems to have been only a temporary expedient to check Serbian intrigue and possible political ascendancy. The powerful Tzar Stephen Dushan had been obtaining influence and it may have been found that in 1368 the *Prôtos* favoured the Serbian party. In 1392, when Greek and Serb had found a common enemy in the Turk, many of the privileges of the *Prôtos* were restored.³

The opposition of the Athonite monks to the

¹ In 1312 Andronicus II Palaeologus subordinated the *Prôtos* to the Patriarch of Constantinople and required him to be consecrated by the Patriarch (Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 54).

² Meyer, p. 55, but there seems a difficulty in this date.

³ Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 55 ff.

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Latinizing tendencies of Michael Palaeologus is said to have brought upon them a terrible vengeance in 1272, when, according to a circumstantial MS. account (of doubtful authority, however, according to Meyer), the Emperor landed in person and received the submission of Lavra and Xeropotamou. The monks of Iveron, Vatopedi, and Zographou, resisting his demands, were done to death in various ways and their monasteries pillaged. The church of Karyès also is said to have been damaged.¹

Of the Catalan invasion of the Mountain there are many vague traditions. The contemporary sources are two, the life of Daniel, *hegoúmenos* of Chilandari and later Archbishop of Serbia, together with a document issued by James II of Aragon in 1308 for the protection of Lavra from the Catalan Grand Company. Both refer to the period 1307-8, when the Catalans were established in the promontory of Cassandra. The *Life of Daniel* represents Chilandari as continuously besieged for three years, which must be an exaggeration, but it is important to note that the most northern and the

¹ See the account in Gedeon, pp. 139 ff. Meyer, however, believes (p. 54) the whole story to be based upon the Catalan raids early in the next century.

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most southern of the monasteries suffered from the Catalan raids, which implies at least insecurity, probably considerable damage, for the whole peninsula.¹

¹ See Lambros, *Τὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος καὶ οἱ Καταλῶνιοι* in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, vi (1909), pp. 319-21.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

IN 1430 Athos, again sharing the fate of Salonica, fell to the Turks, but a timely submission preserved the monks' local autonomy at the price of a tribute. The question of taxation under the early Sultans is obscure.¹ The earliest mention of the subject is that of the Russian pilgrims.² Thus, the monk Isaias says that in 1489 the monasteries paid the Sultan 14,000 pieces (of gold ?).³ Gregory of Sinai in 1547 reduces this sum to 4,000,⁴ and Païsius of Chilandari (1550), who gives the figures for his own monastery, for Lavra, and for Vatopedi, differentiates between *tribute* and *imposts*.⁵ In *tribute*, which must mean the head-tax (*kharadj*) on non-Moslems, since the census of the monks was 'doctored' to avoid increase of taxation, the three monasteries cited

¹ See Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff. ² Ed. Khitrovo, *Itin. Russes*, p. 3. ³ Probably sequins worth about 7s. 6d. ⁴ Khitrovo, p. 269. ⁵ Khitrovo, p. 280.

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paid 36, 40, and 36 roubles¹ respectively, 300 being paid for the whole community by the Voivode of Wallachia. Much the larger portion of the taxation was in *imposts* (tenths of crops, pasturage-dues, etc.), which in the case of the three monasteries cited amounted to 460, 300, and 350 roubles respectively. The Voivode thus appears to have farmed the *kharadj*, while from the details of the imposts it would seem that these were not paid in a yearly fixed sum (*maktou*) but according to the actual income of each year, implying a visit from the tax-farmer. Gerlach (1578)² and Gédoyen (1624),³ naming lump sums of 18,000 piastres (apparently collected with the patriarchal dues)

¹ i.e. probably *piastres* of about 5s. in value. Some idea of the relative importance of the monasteries at this time is given by the population statistics in Isaïas of Chilandari (1489, ed. Khitrovo, pp. 260 ff.):

Vatopedi . . .	330 monks	Philotheou . .	70 monks
Lavra . . .	300	Zographou . .	66
Gregoriou . .	270	Koutloumousiou	60
St. Paul's . .	190	Iveron . . .	50
Chilandari . .	170	Xenophontos . .	50
Docheiariou .	120	Stavroniketa .	50
Russikò . . .	120	Simópetra . .	40
Kastamonitou .	90	Pantokrátoros	40
Xeropotamou .	90	Karakallou . .	30
Dionysiou ? ('the Serbian convent near St. Paul's')	80	Protaton . . .	30
		Esphigmenou	omitted

² *Tage-Buch*, p. 460.

³ Ed. Boppe (1909), p. 143.

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and 22,000 sequins respectively, seem to imply that the *maktou* system was followed, and the relations of Athos with the Porte may of course have varied and the system of taxation with them. It seems at least proved by Païsius' account¹ that a *kharadj* was levied on Athonites as early as the sixteenth century, though Cantimir implies that all Greek monks had avoided it till the reign of Suleiman II.²

Turkish rule brought with it no vital changes in the status of Athos: the Patriarchate³ remained as a Court of Appeal, and the imperial benefactors were to a large extent replaced by other Orthodox potentates, notably the pious hospodars of the Transdanubian provinces.

Meanwhile an important change, destructive of earlier ideals and materially equally dangerous, had come about in the conception of monastic government.

Lavra, as we have seen, and apparently all other monasteries, were founded as *coenobia*. The

¹ In Khitrovo, pp. 279-281. ² *Hist. Emp. Othoman*, IV, xlv. Smyrnakes says (p. 134) that in 1604 the monastic possessions paid 14,000 dollars to the imperial treasury in addition to a tax *ad valorem*. ³ Four thousand pieces were paid to the Patriarchate (Isaias, p. 259).

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brotherhood was subject to the abbot, money and even clothes were common property, and meals were taken together in the refectory. With the growth¹ of wealth, already in the early years of the fifteenth century, came the craving for more individual liberty, resulting in the *idiorrhythmic* system, which at the present day exists side by side with the *coenobiac*.

The chief distinguishing points of the new system are that :

(1) Government is not by an absolute abbot but by a committee of trustees frequently changed.

(2) Property may be held by monks and paid appointments conferred by the monastery.

(3) Meals are taken in the cells and the degree of austerity practised is left within reasonable limits to the individual monk.

This change, entirely out of harmony with the early founders' conceptions, makes obviously for a less austere and more individual life. It was, and is, considered reprehensible by the more ascetic element on Athos and is characteristic of

¹ Zosimus (in Khitrovo, p. 208) among the twenty-two monasteries calls St. Paul's alone a *coenobion* in 1420 : cf. Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, p. 61.

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the richer monasteries. It seems also more natural to the Greek and less so to the Slav temperament, and very possibly caters for a different, that is, a more developed but less religious, type of mind. It is claimed for it that it represents the original loose grouping of cells in a *lavra* and consequently an older form of monastic life than the *coenobion*. It is obviously less economical,¹ and a return to the *coenobiac* system is frequently one of the first steps taken to revive a decayed monastery.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a general movement from the new system back to the old. Stavroniketa, the latest of the twenty foundations, was founded in 1542 as a *coenobion*, Vatopedi turned *coenobion* in 1557, Lavra (which was at this time very decayed) in 1573 at the instance of the patriarch Jeremias II. The rest of the monasteries seem to have followed suit: at least there is no hint of idiorrhythmic life in the latter half of the seventeenth century, though Smyrnakes says² Vatopedi reverted in 1661.

¹ This was denied to Riley at Chilandari (*Athos*, p. 378).

² P. 444.

CHAPTER V

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IT is very difficult to assess the efforts of this reform movement, since the following century was a very unsettled period for the whole Greek world on account of the Cretan War (1645-69). On the one hand, the Turks demanded extra contributions to meet the expenses of a prolonged and costly campaign ; on the other, the Venetians, being generally in command of the sea, were often able to exact a second tribute. This is in all probability the extent of the alleged complicity of Iveron for which a fine of 8000 dollars was exacted by the Turks. Beyond these exactions, piracy was, even for the Aegean, unusually rife during the war, and, though the monasteries themselves were fairly well defended, they probably felt the pirates' depredations through their possessions in the Chalcidice and elsewhere along the seaboard.

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At the end of the war we find a Turkish imperial officer—an *agà* of the *bostandji-bashi*—established at Karyès and the *Prôtos* abolished. The Assembly was reduced to twenty *gérontes*, one from each monastery. The representatives of the four great monasteries (Lavra, Vatopedi, Iveron, and Chilandari) had a privileged position as a permanent committee resident at Karyès; the other representatives were summoned only for very important business.¹

Most of the monasteries seem to have been still *coenobia*, but the abbot's position was degraded by short tenure and the conditions governing election; it was practically a prize for the monk who brought in most money to the foundation by begging abroad.² In large monasteries where the beggars (*πανδόχοι*) were many, the office was held only yearly: the best begging-grounds were Russia and Moldo-Wallachia, from which latter country came a stream of benefactions. The contributions of pilgrims were also an important asset: it is on record that Lavra received in six months as much as 2000 dollars.³

¹ Covell (p. 122, from whom Rycant, p. 254) gives six, including Dionysiou and Koutloumousiou. ² Covell, p. 111.

³ Rycant, p. 249.

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There is further to be remarked a tendency on the part of the monasteries towards emancipation from the authority of the local bishop, whose interference had always been resented. For this purpose it was necessary to obtain the rights of *stavropégion*, properly the privilege only of Imperial and Patriarchal foundations. The word is derived from the ritual used in consecrating such churches, when a cross (*stavròs*) sent by the Patriarch is placed on the altar¹; a *stavropegia* foundation is ecclesiastically extra-territorial, not being subordinated to the local bishop, but directly to the Patriarch, whose name is mentioned in its prayers. For the consecration of priests a stavropegia monastery might invite any bishop it preferred.

Lavra and some other monasteries had had these rights from their foundation. Others about the end of the seventeenth century, when the patriarchate was corrupt, bought the privilege for their convenience.²

¹ For this procedure cf. Hackett, *Church of Cyprus*, p. 368.

² Lavra, Vatopedi, and Stavroniketa were original *stavropégia*, Pantokrátoros, Koutloumousiou, and Dionysiou were such in the fourteenth century. Simópetra obtained the privilege in 1591, Xeropotamou in 1682 (cf. Langlois, pp. 48, 61, 66, 67). Covel's list (p. 113) gives the following as *stavropégia*: Lavra, Vatopedi (original), Iveron (by purchase),

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The moral and material state of the monasteries at this period left much to be desired. A letter of the hermit Dionysius to the Assembly¹ paints it in the gloomiest colours. The monks were idle and luxurious and the monasteries so deep in debt that their church furniture was pawned to the Jews. A hermit called in, like the philosopher at civil crises in ancient Greece, could advise only the usual remedies, *i.e.*, a return to the old virtuous state by the appointment of a good *Prôtos*, hard work, and simple living. But, so far as we know, no *Prôtos* was appointed and a later attempt to revive the office was unsuccessful.

The end of the century was, however, a time of awakening for the Greek world, due largely to the acquisition of political influence and the spread of education among the laity. The latter movement reacted on Athos towards the middle of the eighteenth century, resulting in the foundation of the Athos school near Vatopedi.

Docheiariou, Philotheou, Stavroniketa, Pantokrátoros, Esphigmenou. Ryeaut gives the following without distinction as having purchased the privilege some 'twenty or thirty years ago': Vatopedi, Lavra, Koutloumousiou, Philotheou, Stavroniketa, Pantokrátoros, Esphigmenou, Docheiariou, Iveron (*Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 251). ¹ Meyer, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 72, 218 ff.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

We must now turn again to the relations of Athos with the Porte. Towards the end of the seventeenth century we begin to get a more detailed view of the taxation, shewing to some extent the relative prosperity of the monasteries. From various considerations it appears that the Mountain was not dependent on the pasha of Salonica but directly on the Sultan. The *bostandji* was a domestic officer of the court, and we are distinctly told by Covell that the monks paid no capitation-tax (*kharadj*); the taxation was therefore in the nature of rent and was paid in respect of land held on Athos and elsewhere.

The ordinary dues from the whole community amounted to 17,000 dollars,¹ of which 5000 was the salary of the *bostandji's* *agà* and 12,000 (1000 *per mensem*) taxation. This latter was divided among the twenty monasteries, which were rated according to their revenues, two or three, which were poor, being let off with a nominal sum of 100 dollars *per annum*.

The two lists which form our main authorities²

¹ The 'dollar' is probably the Dutch Leeuwendaalder, worth 4s. 6d. to 5s. ² Braconnier (for whom see Aimé-Martin, *Lettres Édifiantes*, i, 80 ff.) in 1706 found less than 4000 monks (in Omont, *Miss. Arch.* ii, 995). Covell (1677) says the

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are those of Rycaut¹ and Georgirenes,² which are here arranged according to assessed value and according to population respectively :—

(a) <i>Rycaut</i>			(b) <i>Georgirenes</i>		
	Dollars <i>per mensem.</i>			Monks.	
Lavra	.	110	Chilandari	:	800
Vatopedi	.	100	Lavra	.	600
Chilandari	.	100	Iveron	.	400
Iveron	.	85	Vatopedi	.	300
Dionysiou	.	60	Koutloumousiou		300
Pantokrátoros	.	57	Dionysiou	.	—
Xeropotamou	.	56	Xeropotamou	.	300
Koutloumousiou	.	55	Zographou	.	200
Simópetra	.	54	St. Paul's	.	200
St. Paul's	.	35	Pantokrátoros	.	200
Zographou	.	35	Simópetra	.	200

monasteries paid 5000 dollars *per annum* to the *bostandji-bashi's agâ* and 12,000 dollars *per annum* to the Sultan. Lavra alone then paid 2500 dollars yearly to the Turks, Karakallou 500, Koutloumousiou 3000, and Pantokrátoros 1000 : Covell does not state what portion of their budget Iveron, Stavroniketa, and Vatopedi paid to the Turks, but analogy with the cases of Lavra, Koutloumousiou, and Pantokrátoros indicates that they paid respectively sums of 7000, 750, and 2500 dollars *per annum*. For Covell see F. W. Hasluck in *B.S.A.* xvii, 109 ff. ¹ *Greek and Armenian Churches*, pp. 220 ff. ² *Description of Samos and Mount Athos*, pp. 89 ff.

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Dollars <i>per mensem.</i>		Monks.
Docheiariou .	30	Esphigmenou . 80
Xenophontos .	30	Gregoriou . 60
Esphigmenou .	25	Philotheou . 50
Gregoriou .	25	Karakallou . [50] ¹
Karakallou .	25	Xenophontos . 30
Stavroniketa .	18	Stavroniketa . 30
Philotheou	} excused payment ²	Russikò . 20
Russikò		Docheiariou . —
Kastamonitou		Kastamonitou . 6 ³

Interesting for a comparison with Rycaut is the assessment of 1744, more than half a century later, as given by Smyrnakes⁴: the increase in the amounts is probably due to the depreciation of the piastre.⁵ The whole amount *per mensem* is 2885 piastres, divided as follows (in order of assessment):—

¹ The figure given is 500, which is quite impossible.

² According to Covell (*loc. cit.* p. 112) these paid 100 dollars *per annum*.

³ Georgirenes' figures, however, differ considerably from Covell's for the same period. Covell records (see *B.S.A.* xvii, 109 ff.) in

Iveron . . .	1100 monks	Stavroniketa .	150 monks
Lavra . . .	450	St. Anna's .	60-70
Vatopedi . .	350	Karakallou .	50
Koutloumousiou .	300	Philotheou .	30
Pantokrátōros .	150		

⁴ P. 141.

⁵ The then value of the piastre was about 2s. 6d.

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	pi. per mensem.		pi. per mensem.
Lavra . . .	690	Docheiariou . . .	93
Iveron . . .	369	Philotheou . . .	91
Vatopedi . . .	275	Xenophontos . . .	80
Chilandari . . .	253	Dionysiou . . .	70
Zographou . . .	156	Gregoriou . . .	65
Koutloumousiou . . .	135	Stavroniketa . . .	55
Xeropotamou . . .	120	Simópetra . . .	45
Karakallou . . .	102	Russikò . . .	40
Pantokrátoros . . .	100	Esphigmenou . . .	31
St. Paul's . . .	100	Kastamonitou . . .	15

An additional sum of 121 piastres is to be paid by the *sketae*.¹

¹ Groups of hermitages, see below, p. 76.

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE great events on Athos during the eighteenth century were two—the foundation of the college of Vatopedi and the reforms, disciplinary and financial, of the Patriarch Gabriel in 1783.

The foundation of the school was the natural outcome of the educational movement¹ started (chiefly by the laity) towards the end of the previous century. The school of Athos, founded 1749, seems to have been promoted mainly by Melétios, the Abbot of Vatopedi, and was supported morally and materially by the Patriarch Cyril V. The school itself, now a gaunt ruin, occupied a low hill near the sea, about half an hour from the monastery, and was built by Vatopedi: it was directed by a committee of laymen and by the abbot, and was devised not only for the teaching

¹ Patmos College was founded 1713–37.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

of theology and ecclesiastical subjects but for such secular subjects as logic, metaphysics, rhetoric, and Latin. Laymen as well as monks were admitted, and in 1753 these were exempted from the old regulation excluding beardless people from the Mountain.

The school rose quickly and fell as quickly. It reached the height of its reputation under the mastership of Eugenios Búlgaris (1753-59), who had been specially summoned from the then flourishing school of Yánnina by the Patriarch. The idea of the school was evidently repugnant to the majority of the community of Athos, doubtless on account of the secular teaching and admission of laymen. Scandalous charges brought against Búlgaris at length compelled him to resign. In his place the Patriarch appointed Nicolas of Métsovo, but apathy seems to have set in, and in a few years a fire and continued neglect laid the school in its present ruined state.¹

The reforms of the Patriarch Gabriel (1783) were the result of a conference between the newly organised Council of the Patriarchate and the representatives of Athos. The abuses are of the

¹ Smyrnakes, pp. 142 ff.

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same kind as before, on the one hand moral laxity and on the other material poverty : both may well be the consequences of the prevailing idiorhythmic system of the time. In this connection it is significant to remark the tendency of cloistered monks to leave their monasteries and live in *sketae* : against this Gabriel directed special legislation.

The reforms fall under three heads, disciplinary, administrative, and financial.

The disciplinary reforms seem to amount to a tightening of existing checks ; for instance, absence from the Mountain is strictly regulated, retirement from monasteries to *sketae* deprecated, and the number of lay shops at Karyès cut down.

The administration of the community called for more drastic action. The office of *Prôtos* was, as we have seen, abolished about the middle of the seventeenth century, and an attempt to revive it proved abortive. The representatives of the five greater monasteries (Lavra, Iveron, Vatopedi, Chilandari, and Dionysiou) had evidently succeeded in usurping all practical power and sat permanently. This committee was henceforward

constituted on different lines : the twenty monasteries were divided into four groups of five : the committee was composed of four members, one representing each group, presumably in such a way that each of the twenty monasteries was represented on the committee every five years. The ' great ' monasteries probably preserved their privilege formally by the acknowledgment of their representatives as *ex-officio* presidents. The full council remained unchanged.

The financial position of the monasteries was evidently critical ; some of the monasteries were actually deserted and others in danger of becoming so owing to their debts, and it is here that the recent admission of laymen to the Council of the Patriarchate must have aided the scheme of reform. The main provision is that accounts of the community should be yearly supervised by the Council of the Patriarch and ratified by them, and that money lent by monks should be put to interest (not exceeding eight per cent, a very low rate for the East) inside, not outside, the community. The regulation of the market at Karyès may also be regarded as a sumptuary law for the suppression of luxury.

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The *onus* of the general depression of the Mountain is probably correctly assigned by Meyer to *idiorrhythmy*, and immediately after the reforms of Gabriel begins a return to the *coenobiac* life. Thus Xenophontos reverts in 1784, Esphigmenou in 1796, Kastamonitou in 1799, Simópetra in 1801, Russikò in 1803, Dionysiou in 1808, Karakallou in 1813, St. Paul's in 1839, while later Gregoriou, Zographou, and Koutloumousiou also conform.

CHAPTER VII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE closing years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century witness a great outburst of building activity on Athos, probably symptomatic of a general financial improvement. This is abruptly checked by the outbreak of the Greek revolution, the implication of Athos, and nine years of Turkish occupation, which left the monasteries deserted or impoverished.

The other main interest of the century centres round the awakening of national spirit among the non-Greek adherents of the Orthodox Church and consequent anti-Greek action. Of this the main manifestations on Athos are the Russian aggressions and the sequestration of the monastic properties in Rumania.

The dissensions among Athonite monks at the outbreak of the Greek revolution, which eventually caused the ruin of the Mountain, are perfectly

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comprehensible. Agents of the revolutionary society *Hetaeria* had sounded the monks of certain monasteries and found some support : the younger monks, impetuous by reason of their age and in many cases their memories of life in the world, naturally sided with the national movement, which had, further, a religious as well as a political side. The *agà* of Athos was unpopular, and the peninsula was peculiarly adapted for defence. The Greek fleet held the sea, and the isthmus could be held by a few hundreds. The monasteries were already fortified buildings, and in some cases provided with cannon. The cautious party—apparently the older and more authoritative portion of the community—probably argued that the monasteries had had little to complain of from the Turks, who had consistently respected their privileges, and consequently they had much to lose and nothing to gain.

As it was, divided counsels rendered the part taken by the monks both futile and inglorious. At the outbreak of hostilities on the mainland the leading monks assembled at Esphigmenou, where the 'captain,' Emmanuel Papàs of Serres, was established, and voted for resistance. A number

Plate 6



ESPHIGMENOU : SEA FRONT



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of monks went out to join the insurgents on the mainland but were defeated and retired within the isthmus, which it was proposed to defend. Owing apparently to dissensions between the insurgent leaders nothing was done ; many monks from Lavra, Iveron, Pantokrátoros, and Esphigmenou fled to the islands, as did Papàs and some of the fugitives from the mainland, who had taken sanctuary within the isthmus to the number of 5000.

Some defensive works were attempted by the remaining inhabitants at Lavra, Xenophontos, and Zographou, but a majority of the monasteries seems to have been against resistance and surrendered on behalf of the Mountain to the pasha at Cassandra. The Turks entered the peninsula the 28th December, 1821, with a force of 3000 men who were quartered on the monasteries. Twelve hostages were sent to Constantinople and the community surrendered abjectly, proscribing the Greek leader Papàs. The Mountain was occupied till the termination of the war and a contribution of 1,500,000 piastres levied. The assessment of this amount being in the hands of persons belonging to the greater houses, they proposed to divide it

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equally among the twenty monasteries, not by heads; this naturally fell very heavily on the smaller monasteries. The effect of the occupation was to leave the monasteries tenanted only by a small number of aged and infirm monks: the cells were deserted. Many of the treasures were lost, not only through the cupidity of the Turks, but also through that of the monks who had charge of them: some found their way to Greece, where they were melted for the national cause: some monasteries¹ still receive an annual subsidy from the Greek government on this account.²

The depletion of the monasteries after the War of Independence may be gauged from the following statistics, given to Webber-Smith³ by the abbots of the respective monasteries in 1833:—

	Inmates.	Celliotes.	Abroad.
Chilandari . . .	120	10	40
Vatopedi . . .	120	0	50
Iveron . . .	100	0	60
Xeropotamou . .	40	65	20

¹ Iveron, but not Xeropotamou or Pantokrátoros (Smyrnakes, p. 481), which had made similar sacrifices for the cause.

² Smyrnakes, pp. 173 ff.; Tricoupis, *Ἱστορία*, ii, 178 ff.; Finlay, *History of Greece*, vi, 204 ff.

³ In *J.R.G.S.*, vii, 72. The slight error in the first column seems to have escaped Webber-Smith's notice.

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	Inmates.	Celliotes.	Abroad.
Lavra . . .	60	40	20
Dionysiou . . .	80	6	0
Karakallou . . .	60	26	0
St. Paul's . . .	36	20	15
Koutloumousiou . . .	25	25	20
Xenophontos . . .	30	30	0
Zographou . . .	30	0	20
Russikò . . .	45	4	0
Esphigmenou . . .	47	0	0
Philotheou . . .	20	8	5
Pantokrátoros . . .	15	0	15
Simópetra . . .	15	5	10
Docheiariou . . .	30	0	0
Stavroniketa . . .	15	5	5
Gregoriou . . .	18	0	1
Kastamonitou . . .	15	0	0
	925	244	281

Total 1450, *plus* novices (say) 150, *sketae* 400-500, scattered cells 200-300, and Karyès 200, giving a grand total of 2500.¹

¹ It is remarkable that not only Chilandari and Zographou but also St. Paul's and Xenophontos are spoken of as tenanted by Serbians and Bulgarians: were the troubles of the Revolution utilised by the Slav party to forward their aims?

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Turning now to trace the origins of national questions, especially the Russian, on Athos we shall have to revert to the very beginnings of the present monastic system, since Orthodox monks of non-Greek speech and race were admitted and even welcomed as early as the life-time of St. Athanasius, the founder of Lavra, and international friction due to linguistic, temperamental, and political causes arose not much later.

It was St. Athanasius himself who aided John the Iberian to establish himself on Athos, and the foundation of the Iberian monastery dates from A.D. 1000 or earlier. In a very few years it was one of the leading houses and evidently excited the jealousy of the Greeks. About the middle of the fourteenth century the Greek majority, by intriguing with the *Prôtos*, endeavoured, on the ground of their small numbers and their remissness in the care of the *katholikòn*, to oust the Iberians from their predominance. It was decided by the Patriarch on the recommendation of the *Prôtos* that the service held in the *katholikòn* should be in Greek and that the Iberians and their language should be relegated to the smaller church of Portaítissa: further, that the abbot should be

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elected from the Greek monks.¹ The secret history of this usurpation has of course perished : but the methods seem very similar to those used by the Russians for the capture of Russikó.² In spite of the scorn heaped by the Patriarch on the traditional claim of the Iberians to the monastery, the monks were not ashamed two centuries later to ask and receive generous alms from the kings of Iberia.

The Slav nations appear in the monasteries as early as the twelfth century, by which time the Russians were established at Xylourgou, the Bulgarians at Zographou, and the Serbians at Chilandari : the latter foundation, according to some accounts, was a Slav secession from Vatopedi.

As far as we can see, the only purely Greek new foundations after the eleventh century were Pantokrátoros and Stavroniketa, the latter standing quite by itself both in date and many other particulars. On the other hand, the growing political importance of the Serbians during the reign of Stephen Dushan and down to the battle

¹ Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et Diplomata*, I, clxviii.

² See below, p. 57.

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of Kossovo (1389) is marked by the Serbian foundation of Simópetra and the refoundation of St. Paul's, which is said definitely to have been Serbised and made independent of Xeropotamou after Dushan's conquest of Macedonia.¹ There are other traces of Serbian influence, exerted probably about this time, since in 1489, more than a hundred years later, Isaias cites not only Chilandari and St. Paul's but also Gregoriou, Dionysiou, and Docheiariou as in his time Serbian, and the Serbian movement is reflected in the fourteenth century administration.² An opening was probably afforded by the ruin of monasteries during the Catalan raids.³ The monasteries concerned have since been lost to the Serbs, even Chilandari having been for a time Bulgarian. The other non-Greek monasteries of 1489—the Bulgarian Simópetra and Philotheou,⁴ with the Albanian Karakallou—are likewise now Greek. St. Paul's and, curiously, Xenophontos were still Slavonic in the seventeenth century, becoming Grecised with the rise of the Phanariotes during

¹ See Millet's note on Inscr. 426. ² See above, p. 28.

³ See above, p. 29. ⁴ About 1500 Philotheou was Bulgarian or had a Bulgarian majority but was provided with a Greek abbot.

the eighteenth.¹ The process of conversion was probably the same in all cases, the debt-ridden monasteries being bought up by rich Greeks. In this way Russikò itself became a mere dependency of a Phanariote family in the early part of the nineteenth century, a fact used by the Greek side in the controversy as to the original nationality of the monastery. Russikò, becoming again ruined, probably in consequence of the Turkish occupation, was bought up² and placed on a satisfactory footing by the Russians in 1839, and served as the basis of their subsequent campaign. They paid off outstanding debts in twenty years. In 1869 the Russian element was strong enough to win the privilege of using Russian in the services of the *katholikòn* on alternate days. After a series of unedifying intrigues as to the nationality of the next abbot, a commission appointed by the Community decided (1874) that the monastery had always been Greek (!), and that the abbot and two-thirds of the monks must always be so. On appeal to the Patriarch the decision was reversed, the squabblings of the two parties being con-

¹ Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce* (Amsterdam, 1714), i, 210. Four are Bulgarian foundations, two Iberian, and one Russian.

² Smyrnakes, pp. 214 ff.

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demned as unchristian. This decision, obviously just but certainly from the Greek point of view impolitic, can hardly have been got by fair means. A Russian abbot was elected in accordance with the decision (in 1875) of a mixed commission consisting of two members of the Community and two bishops sent as exarchs by the Patriarchate.

This is the only case in which the Russians have been able to secure a monastery in the strict sense of the word, that is, a monastery possessing a vote at the General Assembly. But their various attempts to supplant the Greeks have in many cases gone far, the weapons used being bribery, diplomatic pressure on the Patriarchate, and the threat¹ held in reserve to cut off the important revenues from monastic lands in Russia.

In 1856-63 a direct attempt was made to capture Koutloumousiou (which was, and is, a poor monastery) by putting in a Russian creature as abbot: the Patriarch was induced to dismiss the former abbot on the ground that he was an Ionian, not a Turkish, subject: the plea was transparently dishonest, since there are to this day many Greeks of Greece proper in the monasteries, though at

¹ It was used in the case of the Iberian *kelli*.



KOUTLOUMOUSIOU

[face p. 58



the time of this attack on Koutloumousiou all were regarded by a legal fiction as Ottomans. The majority of the monks resisted the change, and, hoisting the British flag,¹ appealed to the embassy, which upheld them. A similar attempt was made to capture the poor monastery of Kastamonitou by buying up its debts, and Stavroniketa was threatened by similar means.

The usual Russian methods are more devious and ripen slowly. The first step is the purchase of a cell (*κελλίον*) in the ordinary way by Russians. The cell is then enlarged and the lawful number of its inmates exceeded on one pretext or another. Next a petition is brought forward, with strong diplomatic (and pecuniary) backing, for the conversion of the cell to a priory of the new type (*κοινοβιακή σκήπη*),² which may contain a greater number of inmates than the sovereign monastery but is still subordinated to it and does not assist in the election of abbot or representative. Consequently, leaving aside the possibility of exceptional venality on the part of the monks of the foundation, the movement stops here.

¹ It will be remembered that we had not yet given the Ionian Islands to Greece.

² See p. 78.

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In this way the Russians have acquired the *skete* of St. Andrew (the 'Serai'), which is situated near Karyès but in the territory of Vatopedi and, from a cell in 1845, has grown to such an extent that it can rival the richer monasteries in numbers, wealth, and buildings. The *skete* of the Prophet Elias (now Russian) was, however, founded as such.¹ There has also been an attempt to purchase a cell of Esphigmenou at Karyès, together with permission to raise it to the status of a *skete*, but this was arrested just in time by the Community. Again, an effort was made to erect into a *skete* the Iberians' cell depending upon Iveron. One way or another, by 1912, the Russians had got possession of one monastery, four *sketae*, 34 cells, and 187 hermitages (*καλύβαι*) on the Mountain, with a numerical majority of the monastic population.

The Bulgars and Serbs, who control one vote apiece in the General Assembly in virtue of the possession of the monasteries of Zographou and Chilandari respectively, are national in feeling but not aggressively so. Both have evidently

¹ Brockhaus, however, says (p.244, n. 2) it was a cell till 1759.

been approached by the Russian agents with a view to Pan-Slav solidarity, and the Emperor of Russia is, or was, remembered in the service of Zographou. Each is to some extent a national focus though without prejudice to the common life of Athos. Great discretion is observed by Zographou with regard to the Exarchate in spite of its sympathy with the Bulgarian kingdom.

The Rumanians of the *skete* of Pródromos have distinctly national views and dabble in propaganda. The *skete* was taken over as a cell in 1820 by two Rumanians, who died: the property then reverted to Lavra, but was bought in again by Moldavians in 1852 and the old document revived. The foundation stone of the church was laid in 1857.

The whole question of national claims to a monastery is exceedingly complicated. *De jure*, they must be based on the nationality of the founders, rather in the Greek sense of the word (*κτίτορες*), which has come to imply not only the original founder but also rebuilders or even considerable benefactors. Precedent has sanctioned the buying up by royal and princely

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personages of decayed or debt-ridden monasteries which they were willing to establish on a satisfactory basis,¹ and in this way a monastery could and did change its nationality. The procedure of the Russians is in the case of Russikò on the face of it a legitimate extension of this principle, the new founder being not a person but a nation. They had even the formal consent of the Patriarchate, precedent demanding that the transference of nationality should have its sanction. The weak point in their case lies solely in the (alleged) means by which this consent was obtained. But, if we take the nationality of the founder as the true nationality² of the monastery, anomalies at once arise. The original founders might be of more than one nationality, as in the case of Iveron, where the monastic founder was Georgian and the imperial founder a Greek empress. And the title of secondary founder lacks definition: a founder (κτίτωρ) in some cases rebuilt and re-endowed a deserted monastery, in others merely repaired it,

¹ *e.g.* the Russian monastery was bought up by the Kallimachis family in the early years of the nineteenth century.

² Among the non-Greek monasteries Chilandari has been almost consistently Serbian and now names King Alexander in its prayers.

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or, as in the instance of the revival of Esphigmenou, collected or organised collections of money outside his own nationality.

De facto, nationality depends merely on the predominance (not necessarily numerical) of one nationality in the council of the monastery. Iveron, for instance, has never been refounded by Greeks and its largest benefactions seem always to have come from Georgia. The supersession of the Georgian element was a far more arbitrary act than the Russification of Russikò, whether or not money changed hands over the ratification by the *Prôtos*. But the Greek claim to Iveron can hardly be questioned after so many centuries of occupation.

Russian action in regard to Athos has been instigated by politico-religious motives, the idea being that the premier Orthodox state should logically predominate in ecclesiastical affairs over the Orthodox area. The Greeks also attribute to Russia definite designs of conquest, with Athos as their Macedonian base, and wonderful stories used to be current of a supposed lay garrison at Russikò masquerading as monks. These seem, however, based on nothing more than a shipment of Russian

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reservists from the Mountain during the Japanese War.

In Rumania the causes of the quarrel are ultimately economic. The native princes of the Transdanubian provinces, no less than the Phanariote governors of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were after the fall of Constantinople the greatest benefactors of the monasteries. Their generosity took the form not only of gifts of money, buildings, and votive objects, but especially of landed property, since corn was a necessity of life which could not be in sufficient quantity produced on the Mountain. The vast estates of the Community and various Athonite monasteries in Moldavia and Wallachia at the time of their alienation brought in a revenue of about £120,000 yearly. Most of these lands, often attached originally to Rumanian monasteries which were made dependent on Athos, were dedicated by Rumanian princes in the sixteenth century; their revenues were affected to the Community and fourteen of the twenty sovereign monasteries. They were administered either by monks who spent but a short time in the country or by bailiffs whose luxury became proverbial. One-

third only of their revenues stayed in the country, the rest going direct into the coffers of Athos.

Prince Couza's government in 1861-62 confiscated the whole of these monastic lands with their church furniture and documents. For this high-handed action the government sought justification in (1) the alleged corrupt state of the clergy, especially the monks, (2) a quibble on the meaning of the words *inchinare* (dedicate) and *metochi*¹ (monastic estate), and (3) exaggeration of the clauses in the foundation charters which dealt with the obligations of the monasteries to their tenants. The usual conditions of the bequests seem to have been that the sovereign monastery was entitled to the *surplus revenues* of the *metochi*, and in former cases a definite (small) sum was to be set aside annually for a special local charitable purpose. The *metochi* was bound to provide hospitality for guests.

It is extremely probable in the nature of things that abuses existed. But the real reason of the confiscation was that which necessitated the similar but less drastic cutting short of the

¹ On the *metochia*, see e.g. Rycant, *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 246.

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monasteries in Greece (1834), viz. that a mediaeval system is incompatible with a modern state¹ : in the case of Rumania this was aggravated by the fact that the money went out of the country.

Athos never acquiesced in the seizure, and refused all offers of indemnity on this account. The loss of revenue was confined to fourteen monasteries² ; the remaining six, with one exception (Russikò), were less well-endowed foundations. The effect was to emphasise the rise of the Russian element by depressing the Greek. Certain monasteries, *e.g.*, Zographou, which have lands in Russian Bessarabia, and others like Iveron with important property in Russia proper, felt the blow less than others. But the friction between Russia and the Patriarchate has brought about a reduction in Russian revenues also : the Russian *metóchia* of Athos have since 1872 been administered by the state, and only two-fifths of the nett revenues paid over. Further reduction can be used as a means of pressure in any crisis.

¹ See on the subject Nicolaides, *Macedonien*, ch. xiii.

² Lavra, Vatopedi, Iveron, Chilandari, Dionysiou, Xeropotamou, Zographou, Koutloumousiou, Pantokrátoros, Docheiariou, Simópetra, Gregoriou, St. Paul's, Xenophontos.

CHAPTER VIII

ADMINISTRATION OF ATHOS AND THE MONASTERIES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY¹

(a) *The Government of the Mountain*

WE have traced the development of government on Athos down to the reforms of Gabriel in 1783. Since this date the changes have been few and unimportant, but owing to the detailed information at our disposal on the present administration it is worth while to set forth the whole system in some detail.

The General Assembly (Σύναξις, Συνέδριον) consists of twenty members, each representing one of the sovereign monasteries and elected by them yearly on the 1st of June. The Assembly members meet three days a week, living in Karyès, where their expenses are paid by their respective monasteries: their services are unpaid except for a formal present of £T.1 at the end of each session.

¹ This account is derived for the most part from Karolidēs' *Ἐνεστῶσα Κατάστασις*, pp. 20 ff.

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No representative has more than one vote, unless a second is delegated to him by a monastery which for any reason is unable to send a representative. The president is the representative of the senior monastery represented.

On the other three working days of the week the business of the Community is transacted by a separate committee of four delegates called *προϊστάμενοι*, elected yearly on the first of January, from groups of four monasteries taken in rotation,¹ so that each monastery is represented on this committee once in five years. Every committee includes one member from a 'great' monastery, who has the title of *protepistates* (*πρωτεπιστάτης*) and a privileged seat: he is also the executive officer of the committee.

The Community maintains a small force of rural police (*sirdárides*), of whom four are constantly at Karyès, four at the frontier, and the remainder (sixteen) movable.

The authority of the General Assembly is in

¹ The groups or *tetrads* are: (1) *Lavra*, Docheiariou, Xenophontos, Esphigmenou; (2) *Vatopedi*, Koutlounousiou, Karakallou, Stavroniketa; (3) *Iveron*, Pantokrátoros, Philotheou, Simópetra; (4) *Chilandari*, Xeropotamou, St. Paul's, Gregoriou; (5) *Dionysiou*, Zographou, Russikò, Kastamonitou (Schinas, *Ὁδοιπορικαὶ Σημειώσεις Μακεδονίας*, p. 600).

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theory at least purely moral : whether its decisions refer to individual monasteries or to the Mountain in general, they may be rejected. It does not interfere in the internal affairs of monasteries except at the invitation of the monastery. Appeal from its decisions lies in ecclesiastical matters to the Patriarch and on points of simple law to the Greek courts.¹ Boundary disputes, a common source of friction at all ages on the Mountain, may be referred either to the Assembly or to the Greek¹ courts. In disputes between monks or hermits attached to different monasteries the plaintiff appeals first to the monastery of the defendant, after which appeal lies to the General Assembly.

The Patriarchate stands in a slightly less direct relation to Athos monasteries than to other stavropegiac foundations. In general, a stavropegiac monastery must submit its choice of an abbot to the Patriarchate for ratification : on Athos, the abbot's authority is conferred upon him in the presence of representatives of the General Assembly and the fact is merely announced to the Patriarchate. Nor can the Patriarch eject an abbot except at the instance of a party in the

¹ Formerly to the Turkish.

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monastery, and even so his interference is resented. In the idiorrhhythmic monasteries, where there is no abbot the direct authority, of the Patriarch is still more shadowy.

Even as a court of appeal against decrees of the General Assembly (on questions other than purely ecclesiastical) the Patriarchate is not often used, and has been found unsatisfactory. This is owing largely to the patriarchal decision in the case of the Russian monastery, the Patriarchate being felt to be too open to diplomatic pressure and too much out of touch with local issues on the Mountain.

The Turkish government was represented by a *Kaimakam* (third-class provincial governor), who received his salary (£T.750-800) and house from the Community direct: his household was not exempted from the law against the presence of women on the Mountain. This governor took cognisance of murder and crimes of violence as of thefts above a certain sum, but had no court and might not detain an alleged criminal more than a few days: his cases were referred to Salonica. He had a few police under him. His office was really to assist the Community: without

their consent he could not enter the monasteries officially, and he was received as a private visitor. If he visited them on police or other business, he had to be accompanied by a member of the Committee.

The Greek government maintains only a few police on the Mountain, the *υποδιοικητής* (the Greek equivalent of *kaimakam*) of the Chalcidice living at Polýgyron and not on the Mountain itself.

Customs officers at Daphne collect dues only on imports not belonging to the monasteries. At other stations their duty seems to be to prevent smuggling.

(b) *The Government of the Monasteries*

The monasteries are administered on two systems, of which the main differences have been explained in a previous chapter,¹ the Coenobiac and the Idiorrhythmic.

The *coenobia* are at present the following eleven monasteries: Dionysiou, Koutloumousiou, Zographou, Karakallou, Simópetra, St. Paul's, Xenophontos, Gregoriou, Esphigmenou, Russikò, and Kastamonitou.

¹ See pp. 33 ff.

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These are governed by an abbot (ἡγούμενος) with life tenure, aided in most cases by two or three trustees (ἐπίτροποι), who are elected, according to the constitution (τυπικὸν) of the monastery, either by the whole brotherhood or by an Elders' Assembly (γερωντικὴ σύναξις) of 8 to 10 older monks (προϊστάμενοι) chosen by the abbot. The choice is apparently easy on account of the comparatively low intellectual level of the *coenobia* and the consequent scarcity of eligible men.¹

The details of election and administration vary in different monasteries. In Dionysiou they take place every three years, and the Elders are elected by the brotherhood: from their number are chosen the Representatives (ἀντιπρόσωποι) and Trustees (ἐπίτροποι). In Karakallou and Xenophontos the elections are yearly. Koutloumousiou is governed by the abbot and four or five monks called 'assistants' (συμπράκτορες). In Zographou the abbot is assisted by two Trustees (ἐπίτροποι) and a large Assembly. A similar system obtains at Russikò, where the Assembly choose the Trustees from their own numbers.

¹ Ἐὰν ὑπάρχωσι τινες ἐγγράματοι, εἰσάγονται ταχύτερον εἰς διοικητικὰς θέσεις (Smyrnakes, p. 343).

In *coenobia*, as we have said, money, food, and even clothes are common property, and are managed by the abbot and his subordinates, especially the steward (οἰκονόμος). The employment of the monks outside church services depends on their own status and capabilities; a specially trained man (e.g., a tailor or other craftsman) takes up his work for the benefit of the brotherhood but is not paid for it.

Novices to be admitted to a *coenobion* must not be beardless and are generally above twenty years old; the novitiate lasts normally three years. Older men, forty or fifty years old, are admitted if they are needed for definite duties, and are then 'shorn' in a year. These extremely practical regulations of admission, both here and in the idiorrhhythmic houses, shew that the monastery does not consider itself merely a refuge from the world for the religious but also a corporation to which service is due from its members.

The idiorrhhythmic monasteries, which are generally more well-to-do than the *coenobia*, are now: Lavra, Vatopedi, Iveron, Chilandari, Pantokrátoros, Xeropotamou, Docheiariou, Philotheou, Stavroniketa.

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These are governed by two Trustees (ἐπίτροποι) aided by 10 to 15 leading monks (προϊστάμενοι) who form the Assembly (σύναξις) of the monastery. In reality the administration is in the hands of the Assembly. An abbot is actually elected as a matter of form, but has to declare that he will respect the Assembly, and his office continues only for a few days: the form is probably kept up out of respect for the statutes (τυπικὸν) of the monastery.

The government of an idiorrhhythmic convent is oligarchic, the community being divided into two classes. From the superior class (προϊστάμενοι) the Assembly is chosen; the inferiors (παγγενειῶται or παραμικροὶ) take no part in the administration and are employed in manual labour. The difference is marked between this and the equal brotherhood of the *coenobia*.

Further, inmates of an idiorrhhythmic house are allowed to possess property, and most occupy paid positions in the service of the monastery: 'commons' are provided for them by the monastery, the rest of their food they buy or grow. Meals are taken together only on the occasion of the greater feasts, and meat is forbidden only

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at the ordinary fasting periods of the Orthodox world.¹

In a large monastery a seat in the Elders' Assembly is difficult to obtain. In Lavra, for instance, the 12 to 14 members of the Assembly are elected, generally by seniority, for life. There are two grades, one of which is probationary: the probationers do not attend the Assembly but are given administrative work. Each on his promotion deposits a sum of £T.50 and makes formal presents of no value to the other members. Iveron had the same system, but now ten years' service outside the monastery, *e.g.*, on *metochia*, qualifies for the office. At Vatopedi the pupils (ὑποτακτικοὶ) of deceased members of the Assembly succeed to their office.

Old men seeking a refuge from the world, being apparently regarded as useless to the monastery, pay a lump sum of £T.100-300, and must have over and above this a sum producing some ten pounds a year to cover their extra food and clothing.

¹ But it may not be cooked in the monastic kitchen: cf. *infra*, p. 88.

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(c) *The Government of the Monastic Dependencies*

The dependencies of the monasteries are known as *sketae*, *kellia*, *kalyvae*, and *kathísmata*.

The name *skete* (σκήτη) is ancient, being derived like *lavra* (λαῦρα) from Egyptian monasticism. In meaning it is not distinguishable from *lavra*, both designating a settlement of hermits grouped round a common church (called κυριακὸν). The existing *sketae* are not of very ancient foundation, being first heard of about 1572, when the *skete* of St. Anna (a dependency of Lavra) was founded¹: others date from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. They seem to have been devised as a resort of ascetics who found the idiorrhythmic rule too lax.

The typical *skete* consists of a group of hermitages or *kalyvae* (καλύβαι, literally, *huts* or *cottages*) in the neighbourhood of a central building including a common church (κυριακὸν, only used on Sundays and festivals) and the dwelling of the prior (called δικαῖος) and two Trustees (ἐπίτροποι). Each hermitage (*kalyve*) again has its church and is ruled by an Elder (γέρων): he has generally

¹ This is two years before the reformation of Lavra.

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under him one full monk (*πατήρ*) and one novice (*ἀρχάριος*). The *skete* is in fact a miniature edition of the Athonite community, the *gérontes* forming the Assembly and the prior corresponding to the old *Prôtos* of Athos. The prior is chosen by the Assembly and confirmed by the sovereign monastery, represents the *skete* in financial matters, and regulates disputes. He must be a priest: the Elders often are.

The relations of an ordinary *skete* to the monastery are based on the *kalyve*. Each *kalyve* holds its ground and buildings on a life-tenancy in the name of its Elder and his two subordinates, who normally succeed him in order. A lump sum is paid to the monastery on the death of a member, which implies the admission of a new tenant. In the event of all the members dying the property reverts to the monastery. Taxation is paid through the monastery and certain duties are owed to it. Arrangements between the monasteries and their *sketae* are ratified by the Community and the Patriarchate: the number of inmates is usually restricted. The inhabitants live strictly and are often employed in manual work (painting, carving, etc.).

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Certain *sketae* (e.g., the Russian *skete* of St. Andrew and the Rumanian of the Baptist) have broken with the old tradition and become in administration coenobiac monasteries though they are ruled by a prior (δικαῖος) and are still subject to the 'sovereign' monasteries. This is a modern arrangement dating only from the nineteenth century.¹

The *Kellia* (κελλία), or Cells, are in essentials *kalyvae* unattached to *sketae*.² They are held from the monasteries, on terms similar to the *kalyve* of a *skete*, in the name of three persons. On a death occurring, one-third of the price is paid to the monastery and a new member taken in. The sale of a *kelli* is cried in public: the purchaser must be approved by the monastery, which has further the right to buy the holder out and become the immediate owner. The inmates are generally peasants occupied in agriculture, fishing, etc., and live less ascetically than the

¹ The coenobiac *sketae* are: (1) the Rumanian *skete* of the Pródromos (under Lavra); (2) the 'Serai' (St. Andrew), a Russian dependency of Vatopedi; and the Russian *skete* of St. Elias and the Bulgarian of Bogoróditsa under Pantokrátoros. ² The buildings of a *kelli* usually consist of a corridor of cells leading to a chapel including *narthex*, *naós*, and *bema* (Meester, *Voyage de deux Bénédictins*, p. 135).

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inmates of *sketae*. They are obliged to furnish labour to the monasteries on certain occasions, the monastery in return helping in the upkeep of the buildings. 'Ascetic *kalyvæ*' (καλύβαι ἀσκητικά) are cells inhabited by single hermits. Many of these are Russian, but as these *kalyvæ* revert at each death to the monastery, the point has no significance for the national question.

'Seats' (καθίσματα) are cells given or let by the monastery to outsiders, especially bishops in retirement.

An Englishman will have noted before this the striking similarity of Athos administration to that of our own older Universities. The word *κοινότης*, not the modern barbarism *πανεπιστήμιον*, is obviously the Greek equivalent of 'university' and the Central Council coincides aptly enough with the University Senate with its extra-territoriality and separate police powers. The twenty sovereign monasteries represent the Colleges, the *sketae* the Halls, and the cells the groups of out-college men. The grouping of juniors and seniors in the idiorrhythmic houses and cells recalls our mediaeval association of undergraduates with Masters of Arts, while the endowment of

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elderly members corresponds to the old system of college livings.¹ Curiously also smoking in the courts is forbidden !

So far, we have dealt merely with the machinery regulating the monastic communities. It is perhaps presumptuous to formulate, and if so, much more to put into currency, such impressions of the human equation as an ordinary person may glean from a few weeks' travel and study : but the subject is too important to be neglected, and, if any are offended, I must crave their indulgence, begging them only to believe in my honesty.

I came to Athos first with a strong prejudice against monasteries in general and Greek monasteries, as contemplative and non-productive, even parasitic, in particular ; this prejudice, based both on natural bias and on impressions formed in other parts of the Levant, was considerably modified before I left the Mountain. My quarrel with the individual monk was disarmed by the extreme simplicity and obvious honesty of the Athonite point of view. This of necessity toned down my repugnance to the system, since it evidently suited a number of individuals and

¹ παγγευειῶται = sizars.

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is only beginning to become an anachronism. Further, as an archaeologist I was bound to credit it with the preservation of much, both material and spiritual, of the greatest historical interest and value. Considering the feelings a conservative mind entertains instinctively for comparable 'survivals' in England, the Orthodox layman's attitude towards Athos is more than explicable.

The fact remains that the cloistered community represents so many available men cut off from the world and for the most part without any idea of benefiting it, though the average monk struck me as neither puffed up with his own piety nor insistent on the necessity or suitability of the monastic life for all who would save their souls.

The kindness I received almost everywhere on Athos, and that in spite of the fact that my manners, owing to inexperience, certainly left something to be desired during the first days of my visit, is perhaps my greatest safeguard against anything like malicious criticism, but it must be borne in mind throughout that much set down here as fact to avoid clumsiness of expression is really but personal opinion.

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Athos is recruited from three classes: from young men seized in early life by the desire of asceticism as a means of salvation: from old men seeking in the cloister a refuge from the sorrows and anxieties of the world, and a means of settling their thoughts before death overtakes them: and from a much smaller third class instigated by more or less worthy ambition.

The usual age for novices is here much higher than in Greece, where mere children are often adopted into monasteries by individual monks on the understanding that they shall in time become monks themselves. On Athos, as we have seen, the average age is about twenty, which probably corresponds in maturity to twenty-five in our northern latitudes. The novices seem to come as simple pilgrims, sometimes deserting their homes for the purpose, and choose their abode after seeing all or several monasteries. The choice naturally depends on many considerations. Well-to-do and intellectual persons would probably prefer the comparative liberty of the idiorrhythmic houses, the poorer class, and probably the more pious also, the stricter rule and complete merging of the individuality required by the *coenobia*, while the

truly ascetic temperament is naturally attracted by the severity of the hermits' cells.

Further, nationality and language would attract Serbians and Bulgars to Chilandari, Bulgars (especially Macedonian) to Zographou, and Russians to their great national foundation. Narrower divisions again occur: the Russian *skete* of St. Andrew is tenanted almost exclusively by Little Russians, Great Russians frequenting St. Pan-teleëmon ¹ (Russikò proper); the Rumanian *skete* receives almost entirely Wallachians. Even within the Greek monasteries local feeling is curiously intense. The broad division is between Greeks of Greece and Greeks of what was formerly Turkey: in Lavra, where the community is a mixed one, master and pupil must be of the same nationality. Vatopedi admits only Ottoman Greeks and these mostly from the Chalcidice, and most other monasteries have their local preferences.² It

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 346. ² Thus the following draw mainly on European Turkey: Docheiariou (Constantinople district), Iveron (Myriophytò district), Pantokrátoros (Hellespont and Salonica), Xeropotamou (Kirk Kilisse district), Karakallou (Epirus). Asia Minor and the Islands are strongly represented at Kastamonitou, Xenophontos (Lesbos and Aivalý), and Simópetra (Erythraean peninsula). The Greek kingdom sends to Esphigmenou (Morea), Gregoriou (*id.*, especially Tegea), Koutloumousiou (Sta. Mavra and Zante), and St. Paul's (Cephalonia).

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should be remarked that, as regards the Greek world, the relations of Athos seem to be almost exclusively European; the monasteries draw largely on European Turkey and the Thracian islands, where are their great possessions since the Rumanian losses. The single Syrian Orthodox monk I met had completely adopted Greek as his language and was quite alone.

It is harder to assess the motive which draws the bulk of the novices to Athos. Most Greeks, and indeed most men, have ambitions at twenty, so that the laziness, so often alleged, is an insufficient explanation. The motive is probably at its crudest the fear of a very material hell, joined to a conviction, based on deeply rooted tradition, that the holy life is essentially the monastic abstinence and mortification. The finer spirits possibly share the feeling that the world also is benefited by their prayers and that the few righteous men may save the city. Some of the younger men at least have tasted life; I met several who had emigrated to America and returned disgusted with its noise and glare to the simplicity and quiet of the Mountain.

This is of course the case of the older men who

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join the community after a life of work ; these also have seen the world, and their attitude is perfectly comprehensible and indeed admirable to the outsider. But their relation to the monastery seems to be merely that of paying guests.

For the more ambitious type of mind, especially the political, Athos offers¹ some scope, since the Orthodox bishop is recruited, not from the secular clergy, but from the monastic communities. When it is remembered that the Greek bishop in the Turkish empire still governs in many ways *temporaliter et spiritualiter*, it is obvious that this prospect would attract a more worldly type of mind, stimulated doubtless in many cases by patriotic motives, a bishop *in partibus* being in a position to forward the interests not only spiritual but material of his flock and 'nation.' The approach to a bishopric again, *i.e.*, the higher monastic offices, offers considerable scope for administrative ability.

A small further class is recruited from the lay labour employed on the Mountain ; the *cavasses* of the Community, for example, often end by taking the vows.

¹ Or rather, offered. Most Orthodox bishops are now elected from the chaplains of other bishops, not from Athos.

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In Leake's day (and much earlier, as we learn from Isaias), Athos seems to have been recruited to some extent from criminals fleeing from Turkish justice, especially renegades.¹ Leake records ² cases of a Jew and a Turk taking refuge there: both eventually reverted to their own religion and left the Mountain. For converts from Islam there was of course no other path but flight, and identity could easily be concealed on Athos.

The time of probation for novices is, as we have seen, nominally three years. During this period no regular instruction, theological or other, is necessary, though in Karyès courses are given. These, however, are little esteemed and attended by few, mostly pupils (ὑποτακτικοί) of idiorhythmic monks. At the end of the novitiate the postulant is 'shorn' (κείρεται) a monk of the grade of μικρόσχημος,³ with which most are content: the name is changed but not the initial. Monks of the senior grade (μέγα, ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα) are distinguished by a veil (κουκούλιον) worn over

¹ On this point see my *Transferences from Christianity*, App. ² *Travels in N. Greece*, iii, 137-8. ³ The μικρόσχημοι are known as σταυροφόροι in the idiorrhythmic convents, ῥασοφόροι in the coenobia (Meester, p. 166): novices are called ἀρχάριοι or δόκιμοι, monks in general καλόγηροι, in address πατέρες.

the cap (*χαμηλαύχιον*) at service: they are supposed to lead an austerer life than the majority, and from their number are taken the priests (*ιερείς, ιερομόναχοι, πνευματικοί*), who alone are in orders. A monastery normally contains only sufficient of these to carry on the services, one being a confessor. By taking orders a monk makes himself eligible not only for an eventual bishopric, but for service as a priest in the world: this is a resource for those who find themselves unable to support the limitations of society on Athos. For escaping from the Mountain and renouncing the vows there is no penalty but loss of caste: in such cases the sponsor of the renegade even prays for his forgiveness.

The monastic day and night are alike largely occupied in prayer.¹ On ordinary days, service begins at midnight and continues till dawn, when the gates are opened and Celebration takes place. Then come a meal and a period of rest, most monasteries shewing few signs of life between

¹ See Karolidēs, p. 51. Riley (p. 319) gives the time-table of Russikō (service midnight to 5 a.m.: an hour off: service 6 to 8 (on Sundays and festivals till nearly 10): 3 to 5 none and vespers: supper: 6 to 7 complines: bed till 11). Meester (p. 178) explains the arrangement of the services in some detail.

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10 and 4, when there is another service till about 7, followed by the second meal if any. On festivals, services begin on the evening of the vigil and continue till midday of the following day. In the *coenobia* attendance is strictly enforced by the abbot, while the hours not employed in service or sleep are apportioned to definite work.

Fasting, as throughout Orthodoxy, is very rigorous and strictly observed. Flesh food is entirely forbidden in the *coenobia* at all seasons: if a meat broth is prescribed for a sick man by the doctor, it must be prepared outside the monastery. Even in the idiorrhhythmic monasteries meat may not be cooked in the kitchen of the monastery, though it is not excluded from the cells. In the *coenobia*, further, the ordinary week contains three days (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays¹) of fasting, *i.e.*, a further restriction of the lawful kinds of food and the cutting off of one of the two common meals. Lent and the other great fasts necessitate for differentiation further restrictions of the dietary.

The staple foods are beans and other vegetables

¹ On those days only one meal is taken (Karolides, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

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and salads, oil, rice, fish, and snails. Brown bread, very staying and good, and wine are of course included in the commons, as is also generally a small allowance of spirits.

Lay labour is employed according to the means of the monastery, the poorer houses doing everything for themselves, including field work and shipping, while the upper class in idiorrhhythmic houses is occupied entirely with administrative work. Lay labour is recruited largely from European Turkey, Christian Albanians from the Yánnina and Koritzà districts forming the bulk of it. Macedonians are employed by Zographou and Kurdish masons by the Russian *skete*. During the last years of Turkish rule emigration, accelerated since the Constitution by the fear of conscription, made labour increasingly difficult to obtain in Turkey. Wages for ordinary men advanced from 2-2½ to 7 piastres *per diem*. The monastery of course finds food and lodging for its employees, and here, too, a better quality than formerly can be demanded by the labourer.

If I may judge by my own muleteer, the labourers have the later mediaeval view of monks in general. He was especially bitter against the great houses

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for their luxury and indolence, but sufficiently liberal to commend one of the smaller and poorer houses which impressed me also by its austerity and decent rule.

Outside ordinary day labourers the boatmen at the port of Daphne are islanders, and the few lay shopkeepers from all parts. As all the houses are monastic property, the lay population is entirely dependent on the good-will of the community.

POPULATION STATISTICS ¹

Monasteries in order of precedence.	Inmates of Monasteries.	Inmates of Monasteries and Dependencies by Nationalities.					TOTALS.
		Greek.	Russian.	Rumanian.	Bulgar.	Serb.	Georgian.
Lavra . . .	165	980	78	125	4	—	—
Vatopedi . . .	178	360	570	33	3	—	—
Iveron . . .	205	350	48	10	—	—	48
Chilandari . . .	105	60	220	—	92	13	—
Dionysiou . . .	100	130	—	1	—	—	—
Koutloumousiou . . .	60	190	13	2	6	3	—
Pantokrátoros . . .	58	95	435	10	8	—	—
Xeropotamou . . .	80	102	—	4	—	—	—
Zographou . . .	155	—	—	—	155	—	—
Docheiariou . . .	60	60	—	—	—	—	60
Karakallou . . .	80	110	20	—	—	—	—
Philotheou . . .	50	75	55	3	—	—	—
Simópetra . . .	70	90	15	3	—	—	—
St. Paul's . . .	68	170	—	80	—	—	3
Stavroniketa . . .	25	38	170	8	—	—	—
Xenophontos . . .	130	180	2	6	7	—	—
Gregorion . . .	75	92	12	1	—	—	—
Esphignenou . . .	85	91	—	—	—	—	—
Russikò . . .	1446	38	1858	—	32	—	—
Kastamonitou . . .	65	65	—	—	—	—	—
	3260	3276	3496	286	307	16	51
							7432

¹ From Smyrnakes, pp. 705-7.

CHAPTER IX

THE MONASTERY ARCHITECTURALLY CONSIDERED

THE disposition of the monastic buildings naturally varies according as the site is an open or a restricted one, but certain governing principles are constant. The notable difference between the Eastern and Western monastery plans is the position of the church. Whereas our monastic churches usually occupy one side of a court, the Orthodox make it, where conditions allow, the central building of the whole: it normally stands free in the court, and in a cramped site it is always the court, never the church, which is curtailed, though the actual size of the church is small by Gothic standards. The typical monastery plan (Fig. 1) may then be regarded as a four-sided court, more or less rectangular, and generally enclosed completely by ranges of buildings, with the main church (καθολικὸν) in the centre, various chapels and other buildings

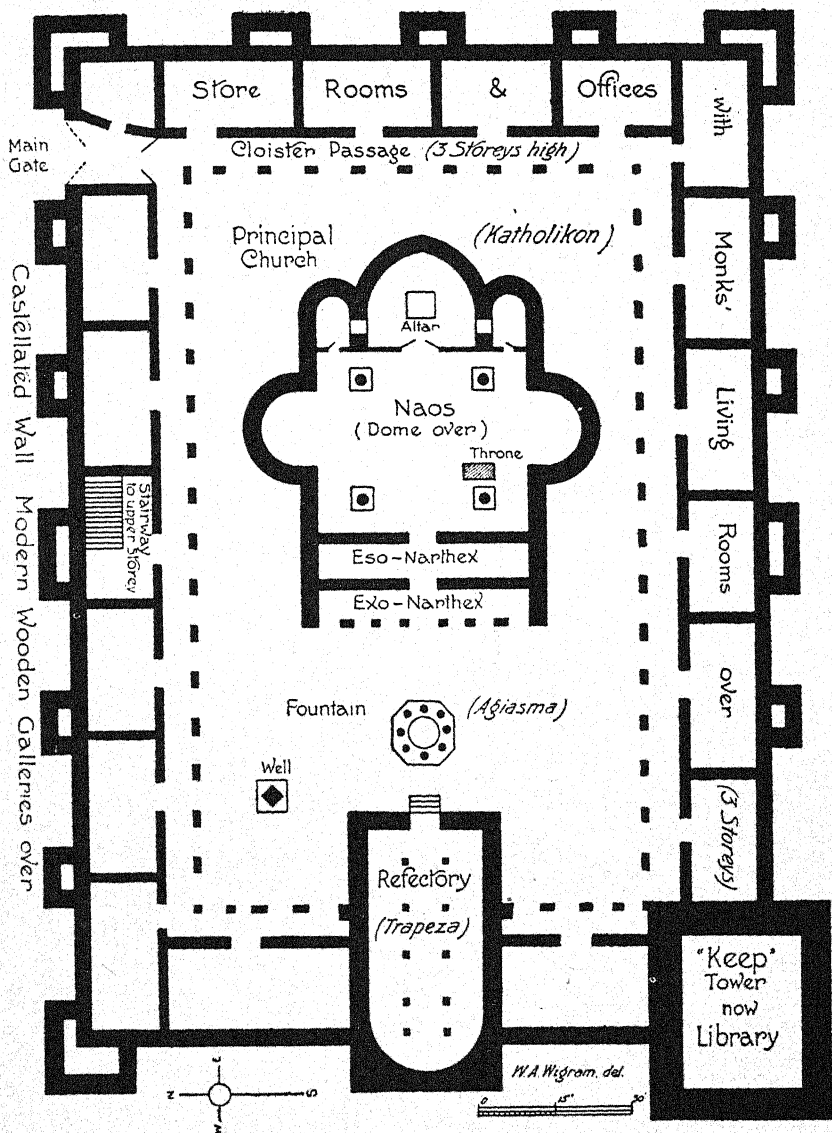


FIG. 1.
A MOUNT ATHOS MONASTERY

This plan does not represent any one monastery, but gives the general scheme of most.

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being scattered about the court when space allows.

The problem of the monastery for the architect was a simple one: its solution is a compound of the walled town and the *khan* or galleried inn. Defence against casual raids from pirates was catered for by making the inside of the court the main façade, avoiding outside windows on the lower floors, and piercing the *enceinte* with a single strongly defended gate and passage. The domed porch resting on columns, as seen, *e.g.*, at Lavra and Vatopedi, is on Athos a post-Revolution form.¹ It would not only afford no possibility of defence, but even cover an attacking force while it broke in the door. Lastly, at some convenient point in the *enceinte* was built a tower to serve first as part of the defences and in the last resort as a keep. The exterior of a monastery therefore presents the severe aspect of a fortress relieved by projecting wooden galleries and timber-framed bays after the Turkish manner on the upper storeys.

Necessary enlargements are normally effected

¹ The earliest example seems to be that of Dionysiou, which may be eighteenth century. This lateness of date explains why the Athos painters' handbook (c. 1650) gives no directions for the painting of porches (cf. Didron, *Manuel*, p. 448 n.).

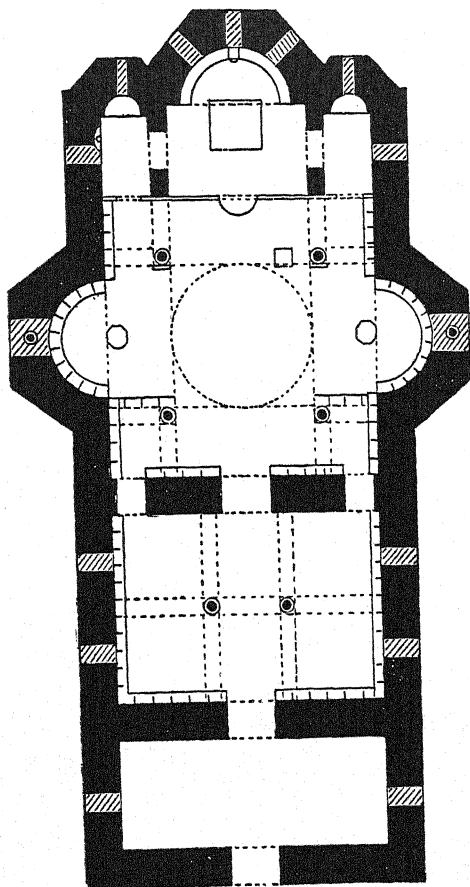
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by removing one side of the court and incorporating the rest with the larger scheme. This has been done at Xenophontos and Chilandari, in both cases apparently towards 1800. At Gregoriou an outer court has been added recently without pulling down any of the old work. In the restricted type of monastery, especially those built like Simópetra and Dionysiou on prominent rocks where every square foot of ground space must be gained by solid buttressing, additional accommodation is gained either by increasing the height of the buildings or by throwing out wooden balconies on struts: this process carried to excess results in flimsy and bizarre but exceedingly picturesque piles of building.

Byzantine work, chronologically speaking, is found in a very small proportion of Athos buildings, chiefly churches, and these have been in many cases remodelled. The chief architectural remains before 1453 are thus:—

Karyès : church of Protáton . . .	c. 950 ?
Iveron : pavement, columns, screen, marble slabs in church . . .	c. 976
Lavra : church	1004 ¹

¹ Millet, in *B.C.H.*, xxix, 79.



PLAN OF A TYPICAL CHURCH
(By kind permission of Messrs. Brockhaus)

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Vatopedi : church . . . end of tenth century

Chilandari : pavements and marble

slabs in church . . . c. 1197

church proper (*ναὸς*) . . . 1293

Vatopedi : bell tower . . . 1427

Possibly also :—

Xenophontos : church ; certainly before 1540

Koutloumousiou : church . . . 1540

The chief periods represented by existing buildings are these :—

(a) From the taking of Constantinople till the Cretan Wars (1453–1645).¹

(b) From the middle of the eighteenth century to the Greek Revolution (1750–1821).

(c) From the end of the Revolution (1830) to the present day, building being curtailed for most monasteries by the alienation of the Rumanian lands (1862).

For Orthodox worship at simplest only two divisions of the church are necessary, the chancel (*ἄγιον βῆμα*) and the nave (*καθολικὸν* in the narrower sense, *κυρίως ναὸς*), which are separated

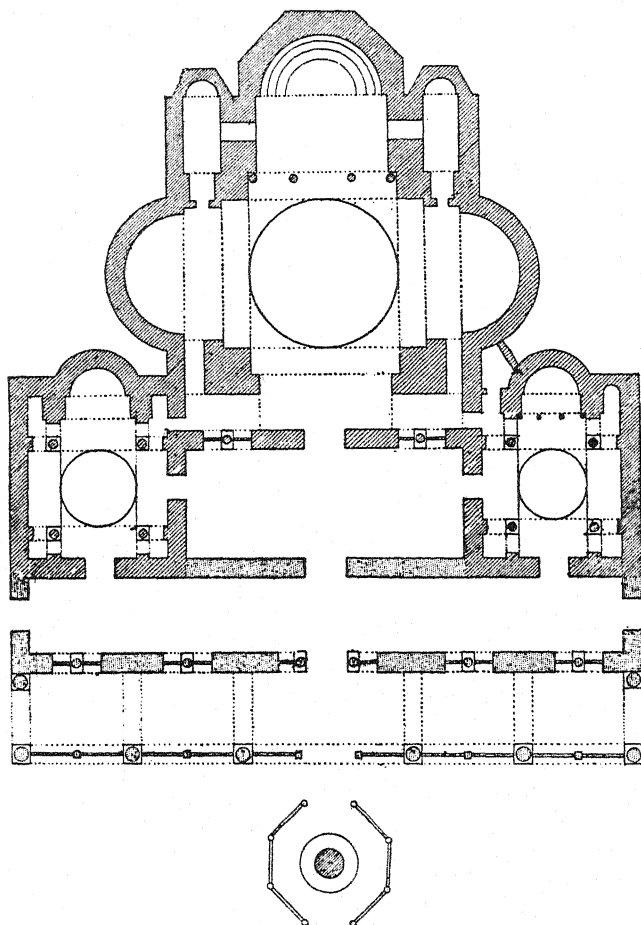
¹ During the Cretan War and for some time after no important buildings were erected : a revival probably commences after 1719 when repairs in general were sanctioned by a firman.

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by a closed screen (τέμπλον). The chancel has invariably an apsidal end and in all but the most rustic churches is flanked north and south by two smaller apses called the *próthesis* and *diakonikòn* respectively: in the former the elements are prepared, the latter serves as a vestry and often a treasury. The central apse contains the altar or 'holy table' (ἁγία τράπεζα).

The base of the full church plan as ultimately developed is a Greek cross inscribed in a square, forming a nave, choir, and transepts with four small corner compartments. The intersection of nave and transepts is roofed by a dome, there are generally three apses projecting from the eastern end, while one or more antechambers (νάρθηκες), according to the pretensions of the church, are added westward. The Athos church (Pl. 8) differs from the normal Orthodox type by the addition of two apses (χοροὶ) at the ends of the transepts,¹

¹ This tri-apsidal Athos type is supposed, on the evidence of the earliest monasteries, Lavra (St. Athanasius being from Trebizond) and Iveron, to have come from the same part of the world as the presumably Georgian Ste. Croix en Jérusalem, that is, ultimately Armenia. These additional apses occur, however, in much older churches, e.g., that of the Nativity at Bethlehem. For a bibliography see G. L. Bell in *The Thousand and One Churches*, p. 347.



PLAN OF LAVRA CHURCH
(By kind permission of Bulletin Corr. Hell.)

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presumably to give more room in this part of the church,¹ and by the abnormal development of the *narthex*, which is usually composed of six vaults supported on two columns.² An *exo-narthex*, most frequently an open *loggia* glazed, is generally added. It very often outflanks the main building, giving access to two lateral chapels (παρεκκλήσια). In elevation the Athos church is generally marked by the multiplication of domes, which usually crown not only the intersection of the 'nave' and 'transept' but the *narthex* (two or more), often the lateral apses of the east end, and sometimes the chapels.

Of existing churches those of Lavra (Pl. 9) and Vatopedi perhaps best illustrate the earlier type, the church at Karyès (Pl. 10) being of altogether divergent plan. A new type of elevation is introduced by the remarkable church at Docheiariou (Pl. 17) and is followed in certain respects by most later churches. The newer type

¹ These apses are reserved for the readers and singers and for the chief dignitaries of the monastery (Meester, p. 181).

² This is the usual form on Athos, Chilandari being the earliest instance. The earlier narrow *narthex*, with a gallery (κατηχούμενον) above looking into the *naos*, is found at Lavra, Iveron, Vatopedi, and so late as the sixteenth century at Dionysiou (Millet in *B.C.H.*, xxix, 73).

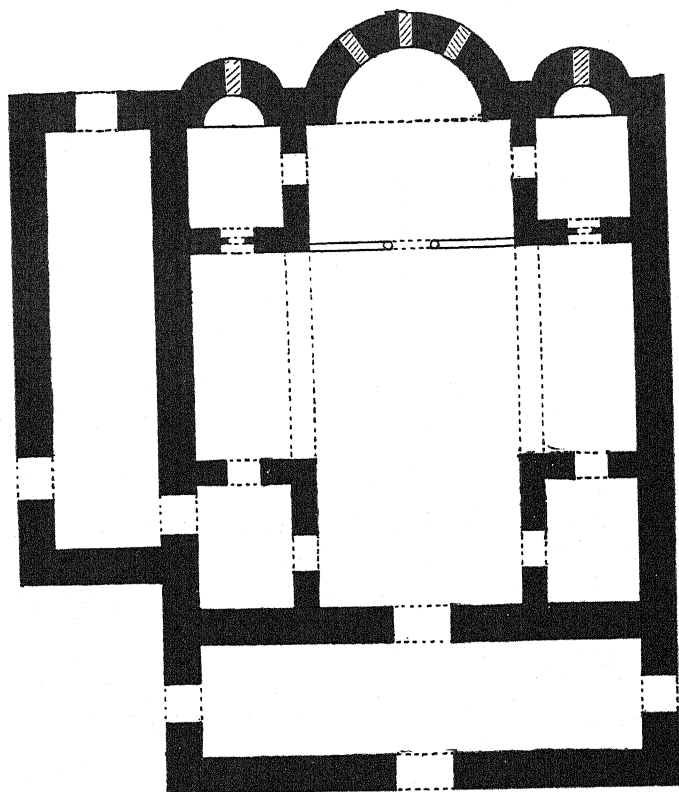
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is marked by higher proportions both in the body of the church and in the dome, the latter a tendency already noticeable in the development of Byzantine architecture, and later carried to excess in Moldo-Wallachia. With this goes a simplification of the roof-plan and especially of the line of the cornice, which tends to become continuous. The buttresses of the *katholikòn* of Docheiariou¹—a feature unique on Athos—are a peculiarity of Moldavian churches.

It is probable that many of the peculiarities of the later type of church are also due, not to direct Byzantine tradition, but to provincial developments outside the Greek area ² (especially perhaps Rumania), the Turkish empire proper, except in specially privileged parts, having perforce given up church building between 1453 and the nineteenth century reforms of Sultan Mahmud.

The materials are rough rubble masonry, a very little squared stone, and marble, the last being mostly old material re-used: tile also is much

¹ Docheiariou was built by a voivode. ² Churches in the Greek area of this period have given up the dome under the influence of the *μεγάλη ἐκκλησία* (the Patriarchate church). Modern churches have a Russian basis with classical details.



PLAN OF KARYÈS CHURCH
(By kind permission of Messrs. Brockhaus)

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employed to accentuate architectural lines and in purely decorative patterns. The rubble exteriors are frequently plastered and painted, the favourite colours being a dark brownish red or red and white in horizontal stripes, imitating bands of tile and stone. The roof and domes are almost universally leaded, though small rough slates are occasionally used in churches, *e.g.*, in the new *katholikòn* of Xenophontos, and regularly used in minor chapels.

It is, however, on the interior that the monks lavished their chief care. Strictly architectural features are everywhere subordinated to colour decoration, even the capitals being sometimes painted instead of carved.

The floor of a typical church is paved with variegated marble cut small and laid in geometrical patterns. The walls and vaults are covered with paintings arranged on a definite scheme, each sacred scene and every saint having an appropriate place. For example, the main apse is occupied by the figure of the Virgin, the central dome by that of Christ as *Pantokrator*, surrounded by angels and archangels, and the drum of the dome by the 'divine liturgy.' The evangelists occupy

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the pendentives. Over the central door is the Assumption flanked by scenes from the lives of the Virgin (left) and of the Baptist (right). The transepts are painted with incidents from the life of Christ centring (south) in the Transfiguration and (north) in the Resurrection. Complete schemes of church decoration derived (1) from the *Athos Handbook of Painting*¹ and (2) from the *katholikòn* of Docheiariou are shown diagrammatically by Brockhaus.²

Marble facing is sparingly used for wall facing as are glazed tiles. Of the latter there is an interesting dado in the Persian style dated 1678 and surrounding the transeptal apse of the *katholikòn* of Lavra.

The screen (τέμπλον, εἰκονοστάσιον) dividing the chancel from the body of the church is generally of wood (walnut), elaborately carved in high relief and gilded all over, forming a gorgeous frame to the upper and lower rows of sacred pictures which adorn it. This woodwork, the main lines of which are from late renaissance models and common all over the Aegean, is the work of native artists,

¹ First published by Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*. ² Plate 11 (*Handbook* scheme), plates 13-16 (Docheiariou).

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generally of the eighteenth century, but the craft still survives. Traces of the earlier marble screens may be found still in a few monasteries. Latterly the fashion has revived, but the ignorant use of the orders and blunt, characterless carving rob the modern examples of all beauty. The old floridly carved woodwork, though not academically correct, gives an extraordinarily rich and imposing effect in a dim interior.

The abbot's throne, stands for special pictures (*εικονοστάσεις*), and other woodwork are executed in the same style as the screens, except the reading desks (*ἀναλόγια*) and tables for the exposition of relics (*προσκυνητάρια*), which are usually of inlaid ivory and mother-of-pearl imported from Syria and date from the sixteenth century onwards. Beautiful examples of the same work are to be found in the doors of the church at Dionysiou. The stalls (*στασίδια*), which are in form rather 'rests' than seats, like our *misereres*, and extend round the walls of the church proper and the *narthex*, are usually of very simple turned work.

An invariable and most beautiful feature of the Athos *katholikòn* is the circular brass *corona*

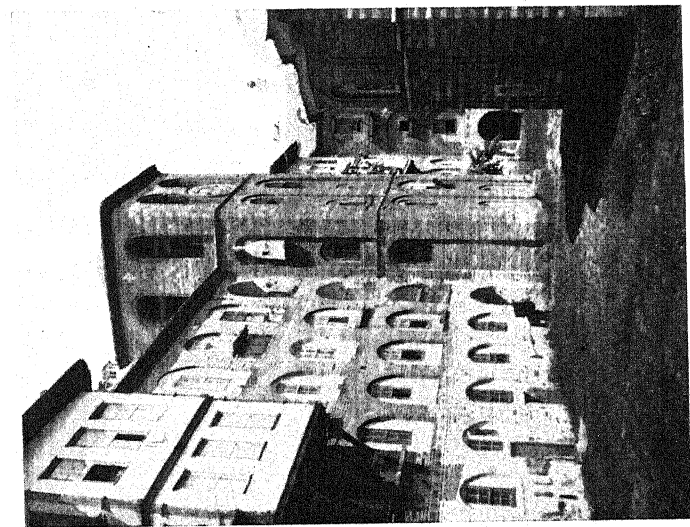
ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

(*χορὸς*) for candles, which hangs by chains of the same material from the walls of the central dome. The *corona* is composed of twelve sections of pierced plate brass, hinged together by double eagles decorated with pierced work or sometimes coloured enamel. Each section rises arch-fashion in the centre, forming a niche for a small hanging *eikon*, above which rises a pyramid of small candlesticks and finials. One of these *coronae*, formerly at St. Paul's, bore an inscription shewing that it was made at Dresden in 1669, but they are said also to have been manufactured on the Mountain.¹

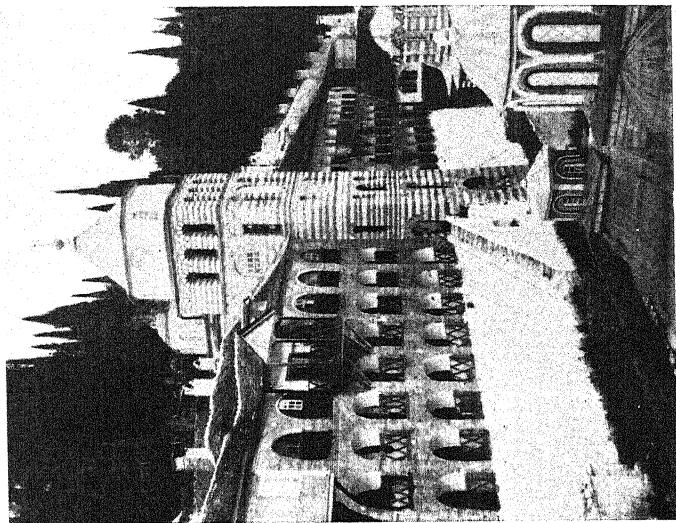
Besides those in the main church, a varying number of small chapels is placed in various parts of the court where there is room or in the upper floor of surrounding buildings; their presence is usually marked by a dome or a projecting apse. Favourite positions for such chapels are immediately over the gateway and in the upper storey of the tower.

In spite of the general use of the *sémantron*

¹ A recent example is at Simópetra (after 1893). A good idea of an Athos interior is given by Riley's engraving of Docheiariou (*op. cit.*, to face p. 336).



(a) XEROPOTAMOU : CLOCK TOWER



(b) ZOGRAPHOU : CLOCK TOWER

THE MONASTERY ARCHITECTURALLY

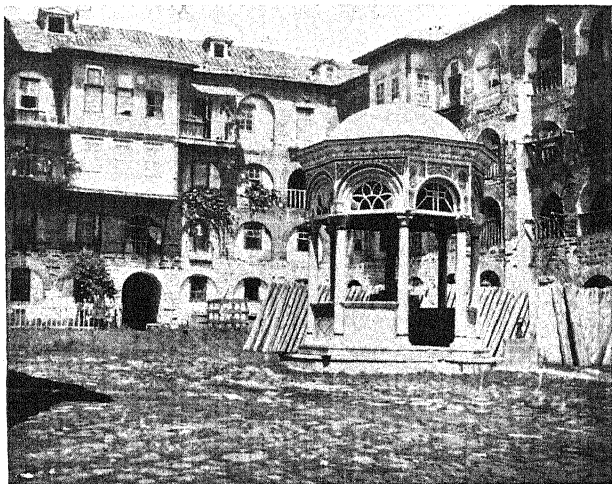
(a wooden or iron beam struck with a hammer) as a call to prayer, bells, which are rung only on great feasts or on occasions of rejoicing (*e.g.*, the arrival of distinguished guests) were early used on Athos. The campanile at Vatopedi (Pl. 22) is dated 1427. Here, where there is ample space, the bell-tower stands alone. In more crowded courts it either forms part of the church, as in the late examples at Karakallou and Philotheou, where it is placed over the centre of the west end, or it is built among the buildings surrounding the court (Gregoriou (Pl. 31), Zographou). It is usually crowned with a short four-sided, lead covered spire, from either side of which projects a small gable. At Dionysiou by exception the Venetian bell-gable, so frequent in the Islands, is adopted. The later examples (*e.g.*, Esphigmenou) have a succession of open bell-chambers, one above another. The clock-tower may be attached to the *exo-narthex* (Vatopedi, Iveron) or form part of a range of cells (Xeropotamou (Pl. 11), Gregoriou).

Another building which generally stands free in the court is the *phiále*, a sacred well covered with a dome resting on eight or more columns. With

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

the water of the well the various rooms of the monastery are blessed on the first of every month and the festival of the Baptism of Christ (*μικρὸς* and *μέγας ἀγιασμός* respectively). The inside of the dome is regularly painted with appropriate scenes. The finest example of the *phiale* is undoubtedly that of Lavra (Pl. 29), which has a magnificent porphyry basin surrounded by eight columns with Turkish stalactite capitals and connected by carved marble slabs dating from the tenth century.

The refectory (*τράπεζα*) either stands free in the court as at Lavra (Fig. 2), Iveron, Vatopedi, Koutloumousiou, Esphigmenou, or, as in the more restricted monasteries, it forms part of one of the ranges surrounding it, by preference the western, as opposite the entrance to the church: this rule is broken at Dionysiou and Gregoriou, presumably for considerations of space. The refectory is usually prefaced by an open gallery or cloister, often communicating directly with the porch of the church; both refectory and gallery are adorned with paintings. The favourite plan for a refectory is a headless cross, but the finest and oldest example, that of Lavra (Fig. 2),



(a) XEROPOTAMOU : *PHIALE*



(b) PANTOKRÁTOROS : VIEW FROM THE SEA

(By kind permission of Brit. Sch. Ann.)

THE MONASTERY ARCHITECTURALLY

is rather more elaborate. The tables, each accommodating about ten monks, are ranged along the walls. In the richer monasteries they are of marble, in shape like a broad D, the rounded end being placed next the wall. A pulpit is placed at some convenient place for the reader.

The kitchen (*μαγειρεῖον*, Pl. 1) adjoins the refectory. It has an open hearth standing free in the middle of the room, which is provided with a hinged steel arm for swinging the cauldrons to and from the fire. Smoke escapes through a chimney in the crown of the vault. This primitive arrangement is responsible for the numerous fires which have again and again destroyed whole monasteries, sparing usually only the church which stands free in the court.

We turn now to the domestic buildings forming the court itself. These include cells, chapels, hospital, guest-rooms, stores, and various offices. The existing buildings of this class are of no great age, for none, since the destruction by fire of the early fifteenth century range at St. Paul's,¹ go back beyond the sixteenth century. Their great

¹ The date is suspicious, see below, p. 188.

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enemy has been fire, in some cases ambition, it being a point of honour with the abbot to leave some monument of his term of office.

A small proportion only of the actual domestic buildings on Athos antedates the Cretan War, the rest, if not quite modern, *i.e.*, subsequent to the Greek Revolution, date from the prosperous period from about 1750 to the Revolution, during which time the Greek world was growing steadily in intellectual, political, and commercial importance.

The few ranges of cells dating before the Cretan War are of rough stone, not more than two storeys high, and provided with wooden galleries: these are shewn still in many of Barsky's drawings (*c.* 1740), and can be seen to-day at Xenophontos (E. side), Docheiariou, and Lavra. The characteristic feature of later buildings is the extensive use of tile, either alone or with courses of cut stone, the latter apparently in the early years of the nineteenth century. The tile-work is often developed, as much earlier in churches, into decorative patterns. Ranges of cells are often more than two storeys high (four at Koutloumousiou) and the wooden galleries are replaced



THE MONASTERY ARCHITECTURALLY

by open arcades of brick.¹ As characteristic details of this period we may note the polychrome cornice of tile set edgewise with broad joints of mortar and cut to a profile, and the insertion, sometimes in patterns, of glazed faïence plates.

The towers, to which we have already referred above, are a very striking and characteristic feature on Athos, found also in other monasteries. These towers either form part of the monastery or guard the monastic ports. They are in the first case placed at some strategic point of the *enceinte*, commanding the gate (as at Karakallou (Pl. 27) and Stavroniketa) or marking an angle or highest point (Pantokrátoros, Dionysiou, Docheiariou, and originally Chilandari). They serve as libraries and treasuries, the upper storey (which is vaulted behind the battlements) being generally a chapel.

The port-towers (*ἀσπράδες*), of which there are fine examples at Lavra, Karakallou, and Iveron (Pl. 25), have commonly an open lower storey communicating by a spacious arch with the boat-slip. When pirates were feared, the boats

¹ The earliest dated example of this style I have been able to find is a building north-east of the church at Docheiariou (1739).

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of the monastery were drawn up and the iron gates or grills shut: the arch is commanded by a *machicoulis* in case the attack should be pressed. Access to the tower itself was gained usually by a drawbridge to the first floor, as is usually the case in isolated Aegean towers of all dates. At Lavra and Karakallou the tower has no boat-house but is enclosed in a small fortress (*μπαρμπάκας*) of its own.

The finest towers of both types exhibit lofty proportions and bold machicolated designs which suggest the end of the Middle Ages. In reality, however, such towers as can be dated belong chiefly to the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries, the only notable exceptions being the Tower of the Amalfitans, which should presumably be placed not later than 1393, when the monastery lost its independence, the founder's tower at Chilandari, and the so-called 'tower of Tzimiskes' at Lavra. The dating of the two latter rests on tradition only and both have seen much restoration.

Round about each monastery cluster various humbler buildings, the cemetery with its chapel and bone-crypt beneath, various cells and dwellings

THE MONASTERY ARCHITECTURALLY

for servants, the olive-mill, stables and such like, all rough buildings of stone and timber with slated roofs of thoroughly northern pitch. The mule-paths leading to the gate are cobble paved, with steps or 'setts' at intervals of about six feet. The land around is terraced and utilised in various ways as pot-herb garden, vineyard, etc. Another dependent hamlet is apt to gather round the port. Nowhere perhaps in Europe is so complete a picture to be found of a great monastic house with its dependencies occupying its own ground in undisputed domination.

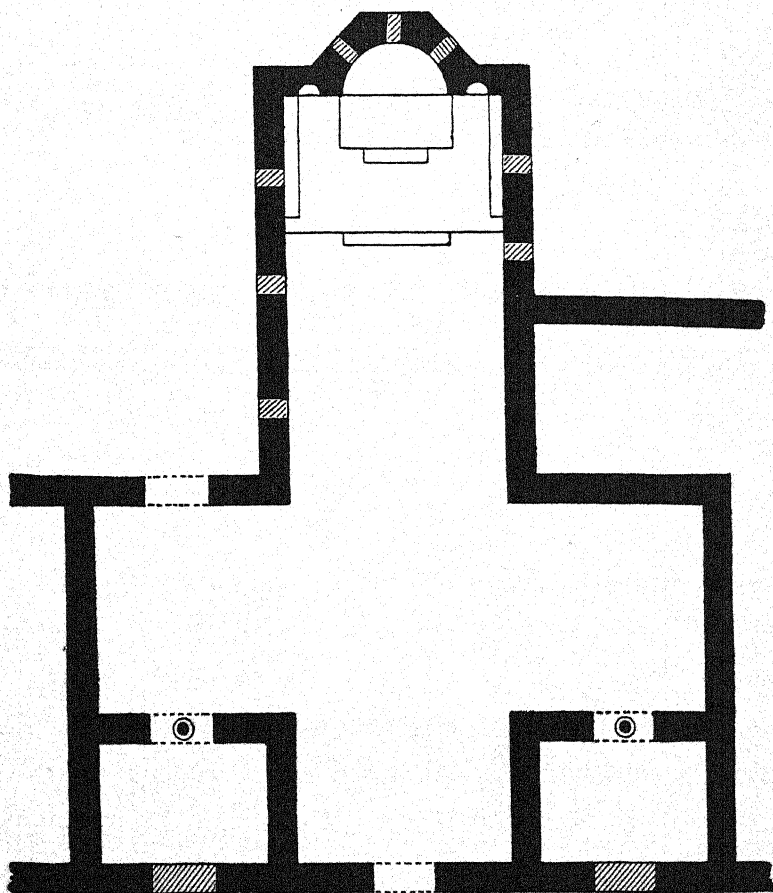


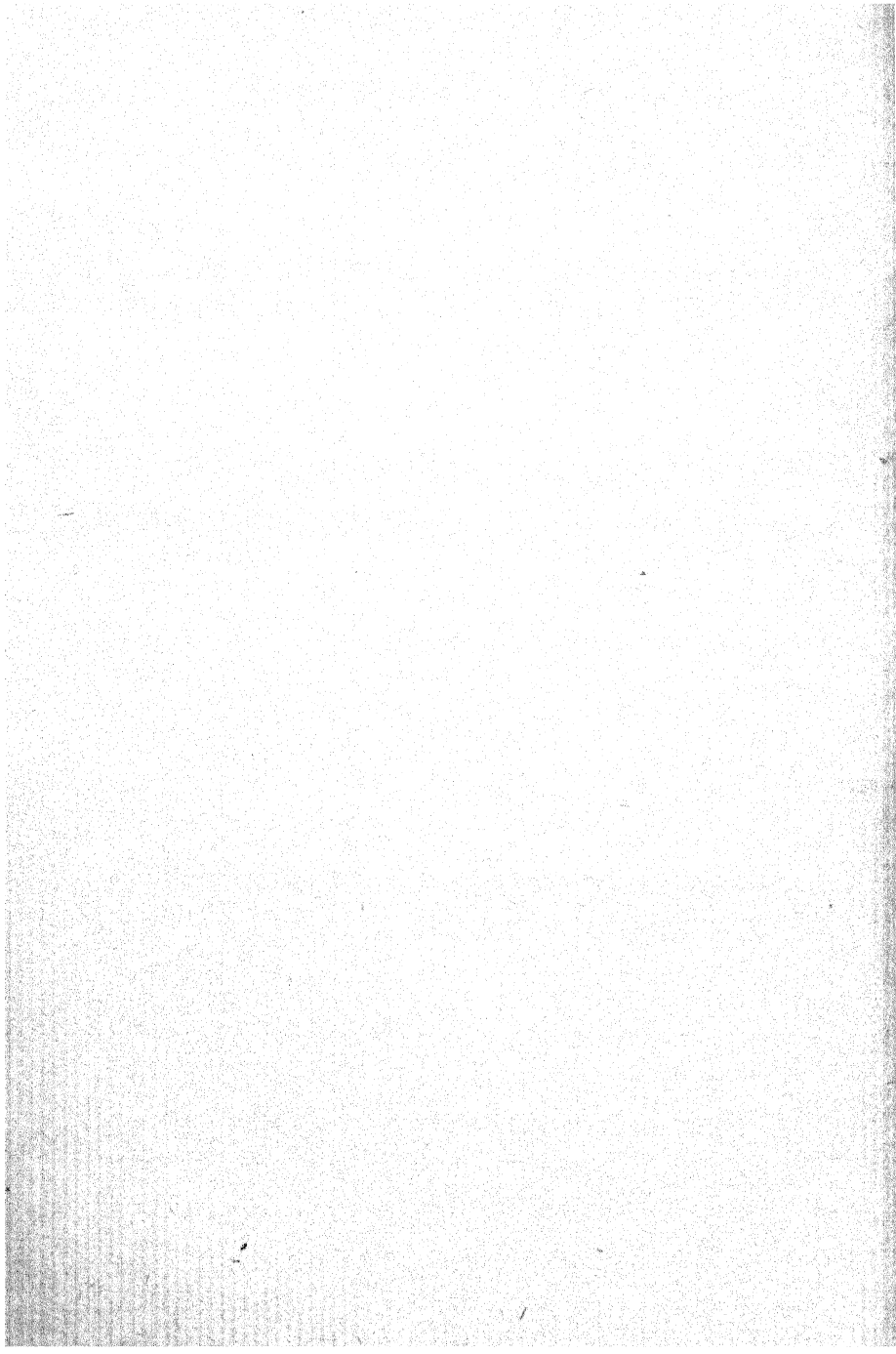
FIG. 2.

PLAN OF LAVRA REFECTORY.

By kind permission of Messrs Brookhaus. See page 106.

PART II

DESCRIPTION OF THE TWENTY SOVEREIGN MONASTERIES: THEIR HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE



CHAPTER X

XEROPOTÁMOU

THE following descriptive notes on the twenty monasteries are arranged for practical purposes as an itinerary. The hypothetical route—from Daphne northwards by the coast to Docheiariou, across to Esphigmenou, south to Lavra, and thence round the peninsula—will hardly be followed, owing to the necessity of obtaining credentials at Karyès: but at whatever point the round is begun, the notes on adjacent monasteries will be found together; the ceremonial order of precedence is given in the population table (p. 91). The historical notes are for the most part derived from Smyrnakes, the building dates, where possible, from Millet's *Inscriptions*, supplemented from Brockhaus and Smyrnakes, and often checked by myself. The points of the compass are inferred from the orientation of the churches.

The distances by land between monasteries (in

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

hours) are as follows¹: DAPHNE-XEROPOTAMOU, $\frac{1}{2}$ (-Karyès, $1\frac{1}{2}$); -RUSSIKÒ, $\frac{1}{2}$; -XENOPHONTOS, 1; -DOCHELARIOU, $\frac{1}{2}$; -KASTAMONITOU, 2; -ZOGRAPHOU, 1; -CHILANDARI, 2; -ESPHIGMENOU, 1; -VATOPEDI, $2\frac{1}{4}$ (-Karyès, 2; -IVERON, 1); -PANTOKRÁTOROS, $1\frac{1}{2}$; -STAVRONIKETA, 2; -IVERON, 1; -Karyès, 1; -KOUTLOUMOUSIOU, $\frac{1}{4}$; -PHILOTHEOU (arsenal), 1; -KARAKALLOU (arsenal) $\frac{3}{4}$; -Spring of Athanasius, 2; -LAVRA, 2; -Kerasià, $2\frac{1}{4}$ (-Summit of Athos, $2\frac{1}{2}$); -St. Anna's, $1\frac{3}{4}$; -St. PAUL's, $1\frac{1}{2}$; -DIONYSIOU, 1; -GREGORIOU, 1; -SIMÓPETRA, 1 (-Karyès, $2\frac{1}{4}$); -XEROPOTAMOU, 2.

Half an hour from Daphne the steep mule-track to Karyès passes the first monastery, Xeropotamou (Plates 11, 12, 14), which stands on high ground, about half-way up to the main ridge, on the right bank of the torrent-bed from which it takes its name.

The history of the monastery has been obscured by wilful falsifications. The founders celebrated are the Empress Pulcheria (c. 450), Romanus I Lecapenus (who is associated with a monk named Paul in religion, son of Michael III), Constantine

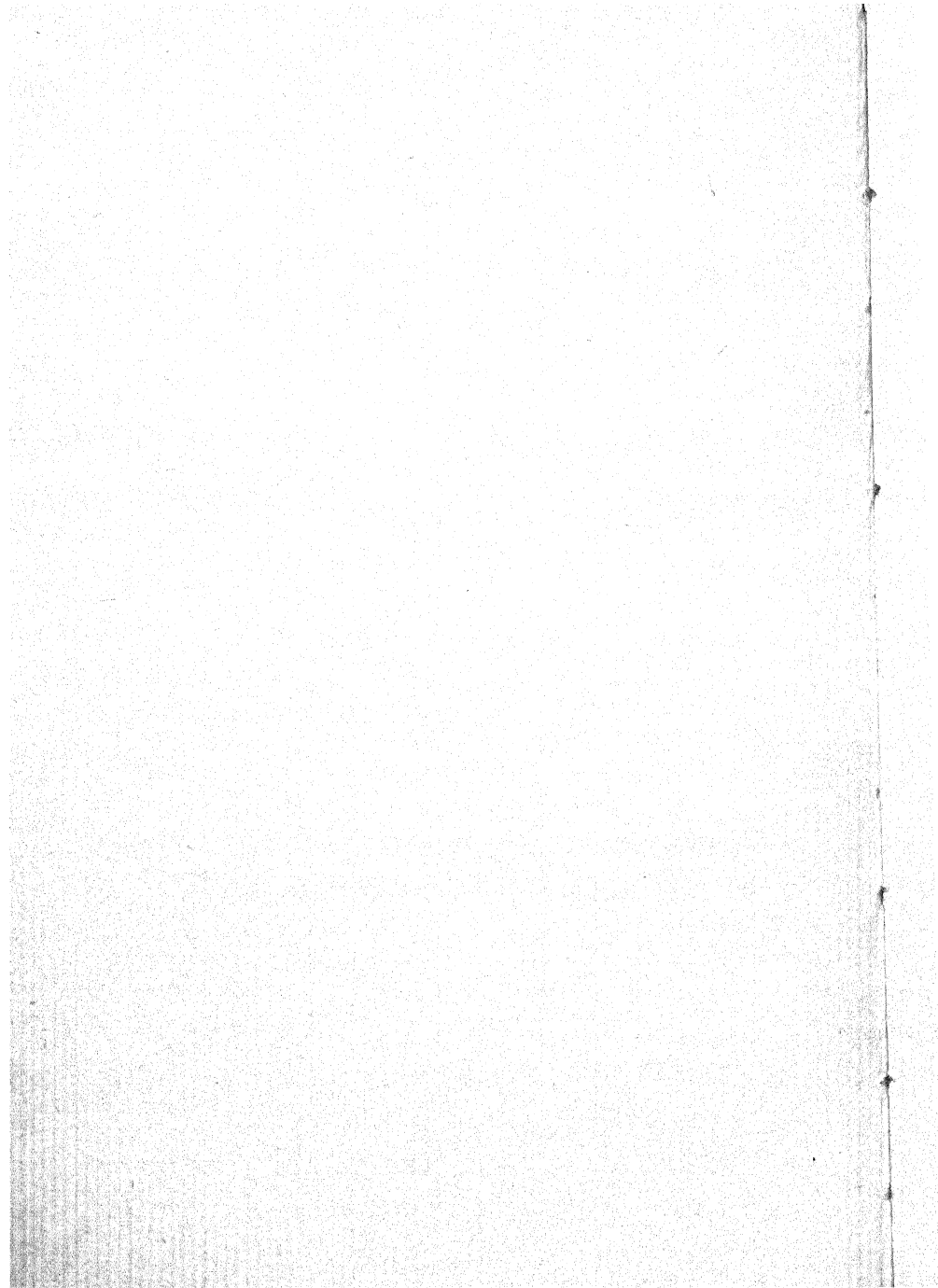
¹ Much time is saved by taking a boat for the coast monasteries.

SKETCH MAP OF ATHOS

(ADAPTED FROM BROCKHAUS)



FIG. 3.



XEROPOTAMOU

Porphyrogenitus, and Andronicus II Palaeologus. These pretensions are backed by a series of documents, votive offerings, and inscriptions. The documents are known to be forgeries of the eighteenth century.¹ The donors of the votive offerings seem to be merely traditional (the 'cup of Pulcheria,' for instance, is assigned by Millet to the twelfth century²), and the inscriptions of Romanus (now lost) are proved to have been executed about 1700.³

The foundation is, however, undoubtedly early, and the monastery is cited among the leading houses in the *typikōn* of 1394, as in the (apocryphal ?) account of the persecution of Michael Palaeologus. The cycle of forgeries is attributable to a revival of the monastery in the eighteenth century⁴ and may have been intended to give it standing in boundary or other disputes.

¹ See Millet's note on Inscr. 541, cf. Kirsopp Lake, p. 96. But a Paul *Ξηροποταμηνός* is mentioned in the *Life* of Athanasius. ² Inscr. 546. But there was a second Pulcheria, sister of Romanus III (1028-1034): cf. Brockhaus, p. 7. ³ Millet, Inscr. 561-563; cf. 539, 568. The reputed reliefs of St. Paul and Pulcheria date from the Italian Renaissance period. ⁴ The monastery was restored in 1765 after the return of K. Dapontes of Skopelos from a begging tour: the Rumanian Hospodars were chiefly responsible: see Dapontes in Sathas, *Μετ. βιβλ.*, iii, 7 ff.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

The monastery is one of those connected with the possibly apocryphal raid of Michael Palaeologus, and according to the legend an earthquake destroyed the *katholikòn*, which had been profaned by the celebration of the Latin rite. In the following century Xeropotamou is said to have been burned twice by pirates, and rebuilt about 1600 by Alexander, Voivode of Wallachia.¹ Komnenos' Προσκυνητάριον of 1701 represents it as again in a decayed state.² It is now well off, still possessing estates in Bessarabia.

The monastery as it now stands is a comparatively modern group of buildings dating chiefly from a rebuilding in the latter half of the eighteenth century.³ It is fairly regularly built round a rectangular court and gives an instructive first idea of an Athos monastery. The central object is as usual the *katholikòn* (dedicated to the Forty Martyrs), one of the most pleasing modern designs on the peninsula and thoroughly typical in plan: an interesting and early (fifth or sixth century) relief of St. Demetrius⁴ built into the *exo-narthex*, which is said to have been

¹ Gedeon, p. 184.

² P. 97.

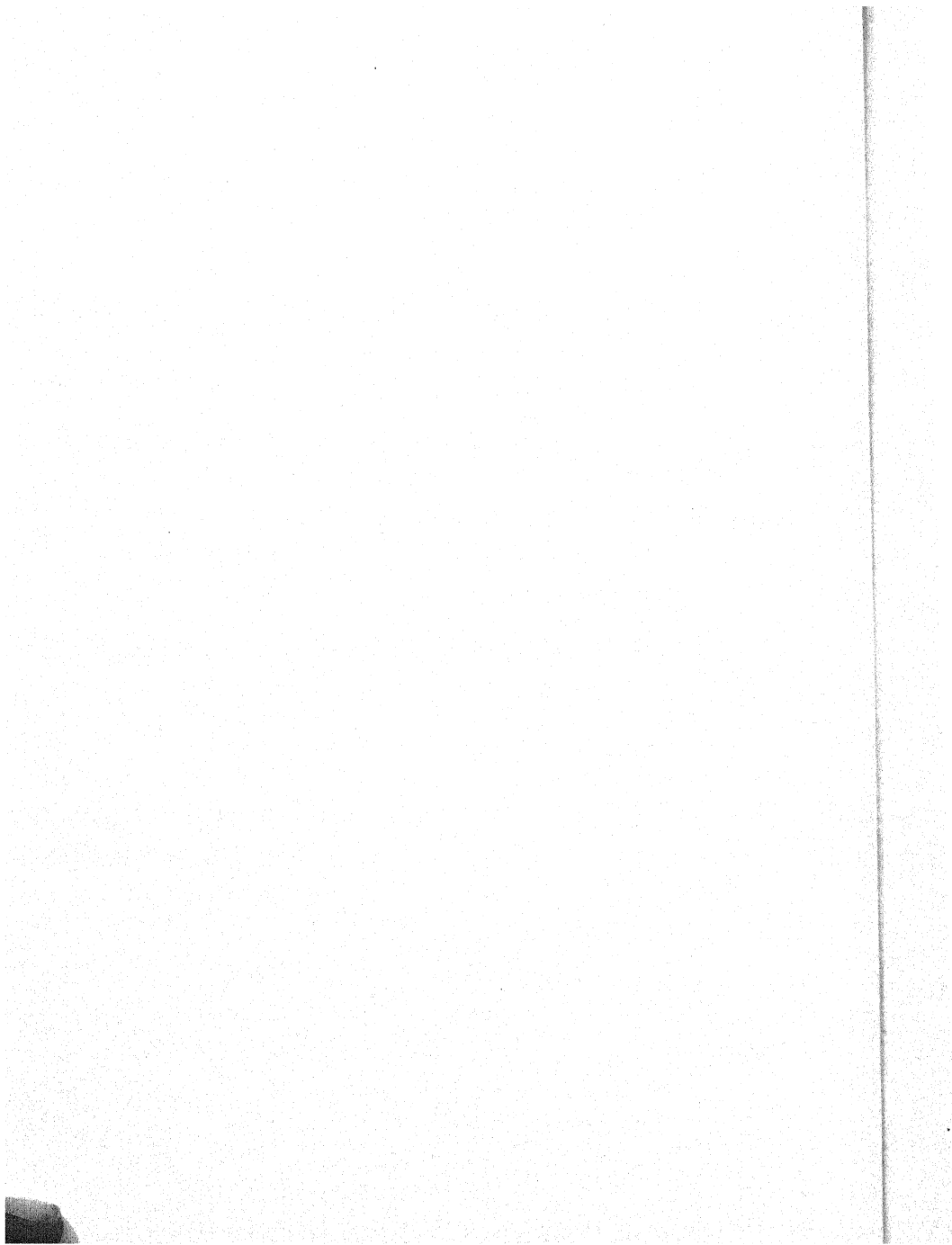
³ K. Dapontes, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Figured in Brockhaus (Pl. 9): cf. *ibid.*, p. 43.

Plate 14



XEROPOTAMOU



XEROPOTAMOU

removed from St. Sophia, Constantinople, deserves notice.

The late eighteenth century brick buildings of the east and south sides, which include a fine clock-tower (Pl. 11), are an excellent example of the work of this date, while the seaward front with its high walls crowned with wooden balconies forms an introduction to the fantastic galleries of Dionysiou.

Building Dates :—

1763. *Katholikòn* (Millet, 541 ; Smyrnakes, p. 546).

1779. Clock tower (Millet, 558).

1780–1781. Building S.E. of clock tower (Millet, 564).

1797–1820. South range (Millet, 565).

1819. South-East angle (Millet, 569).

1863. North-East angle (Millet, 569).

1888. Rebuilding of West range (Smyrnakes, p. 545).

CHAPTER XI

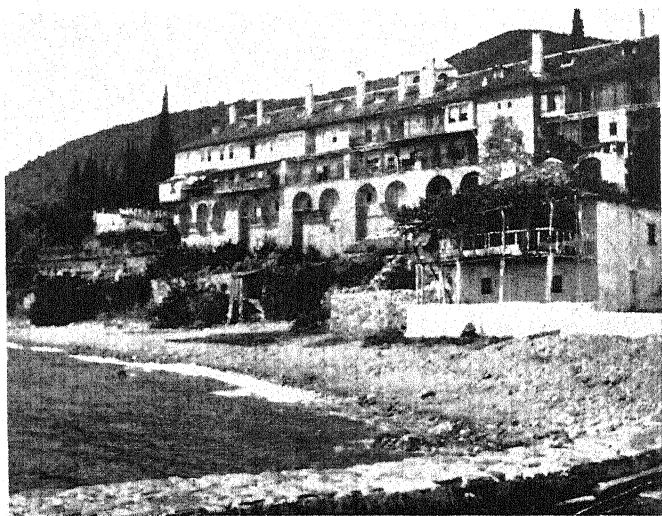
ST. PANTELEËMON'S ('RUSSIKÒ')

THE monastery of St. Panteleëmon¹ stands on the shore half an hour beyond Xeropotamou. Its history has been obscured by the national and political prejudices of the writers: Smyrnakes even goes so far as to derive its name, not from Russians ('Ρούσσοι, 'Ρῶσσοι), but from Ragusans ('Ραούσσιοι).² It seems clear that in 1143 Russians possessed a monastery 'of the Woodcutter' (τοῦ Ξυλουργοῦ)³ and moved in 1163 to another (named τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως),⁴ which was burnt about 1312, and eventually at an uncertain date⁵ to the present site.⁶ The monastery was patronised by the kings of Serbia,

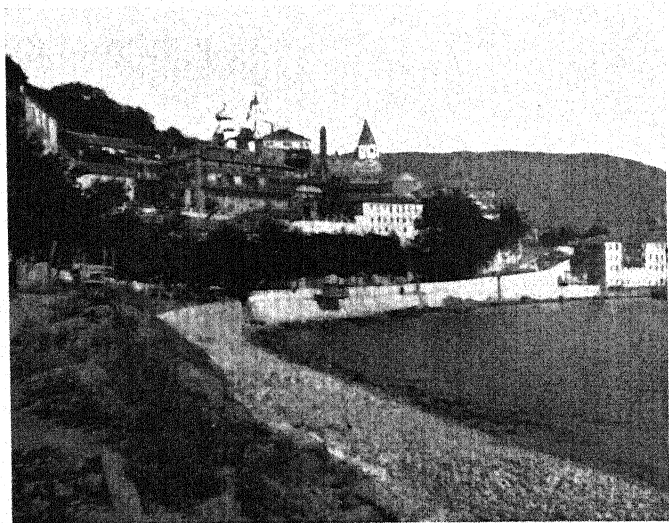
¹ St. Panteleëmon (July 27), a physician, suffered martyrdom under Maximianus at Nicomedia (Ismid), where his tomb is still shewn (Kleonymos, Βιβλικὰ, pp. 68 ff.). ² P. 658.

³ Near the site of the modern *skete* of Bogoróditsa (Smyrnakes, p. 674). ⁴ This monastery still belongs to the Russian convent (Smyrnakes, p. 670).

⁵ Early eighteenth century, according to Delikanes, p. 186. ⁶ Smyrnakes, p. 661.



(a) RUSSIKÒ : VIEW FROM THE SEA



(b) XENOPHONTOS : SEA FRONT



ST. PANTELEËMON'S

from whom it had no less than nineteen chrysobulls, and it continued under their protection till after the fall of Constantinople. There seems to have been a revival of the Russian connection towards the end of the fifteenth century,¹ but the monastery was ruined in 1584,² in a decayed state in 1626, and still poor and exempt from taxation towards the end of the century. In 1705 there were only four monks, two Bulgarian and two Russian. In the early part of the nineteenth century it came under the protection of the Phanariote hospodar family of Kallimachis who built the oldest portion of the existent buildings. After the Revolution period, during which it had once more been abandoned, its debts were paid off (1839) by the Russian monks, who had settled in it along with Greeks, and since this time it has been the stronghold of the Russian party on Athos.³

Of the buildings it is quite impossible to speak as of other monasteries. It is entered by a plain gate with a 'baldacchino' porch over the seaward

¹ It is called 'le couvent russe' by Zosimus in 1420 (Khitrovo, p. 208). ² Yet Isaias says there were 120 monks in 1489, and Païsius in 1550 represents it as prosperous (Khitrovo, pp. 261 and 280). ³ Meyer, p. 94; Smyrnakes, pp. 658 ff.; Gedeon, pp. 192 ff.; Delikanes, p. 187.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

side. In the main court stand the *katholikòn*, faced by the refectory, and a church of the Virgin : a very richly decorated chapel of St. Metrophanes occupies part of the north range. Only the plain seaward range with the entrance and the old *katholikòn* are even relatively old : the rest of the huge complex of monastic buildings and extramural dependencies is quite modern and in style utterly exotic, probably resembling a hundred other Russian monasteries. The barbarically splendid interior of the *katholikòn*, unique on Athos, could again be paralleled in the mother country. In a general view the green cupolas with their golden crosses flashing in the sun, the massive buildings rising tier on tier from the sea itself (Pl. 15), and the well-kept gardens have a bizarre charm of their own, but the details of Neo-Byzantine architecture as practised by the Russians will appeal to few.

The rank and file of the monks are probably the simplest and most mediaeval on the Mountain : the atmosphere of the monastery gives rather the impression that simple piety is here catered for wholesale on the soundest commercial lines. Specially striking are the businesslike management

ST. PANTELEËMON'S

of the bazaar for the sale of ' objects of piety ' and the organization of the pilgrim traffic.¹

Building dates :—

1812–1814. Old building (Brockhaus, p. 294, No. 146).

1812–1821. *Katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 666).

1888. Church of 'Αγία Σκέπη (Smyrnakes, p. 666).

1892. Refectory (Smyrnakes, p. 668).

1898. Third church (Smyrnakes, p. 667).

¹ Cf. especially the anecdote related by Riley, pp. 248–249.

CHAPTER XII

XENOPHÓNTOS

AN hour from Russikò and, like it, built on the slope of the shore, is the monastery of Xenophon (τοῦ Ξενοφώντος, τοῦ Ξενοφoῦ) (Plates 4, 13, 15, and 16), dedicated to St. George¹ and claiming as its founder the sixth century saint (ῥστος) Xenophon.² The real founder is probably the abbot of St. George who signs a document of 1010.³ A third account, heard by Riley⁴ at the monastery, makes the founder a noble Constantinopolitan at the end of the same century, who was aided in his work by the Emperors Nicephorus Botoniates and Alexius Comnenus.

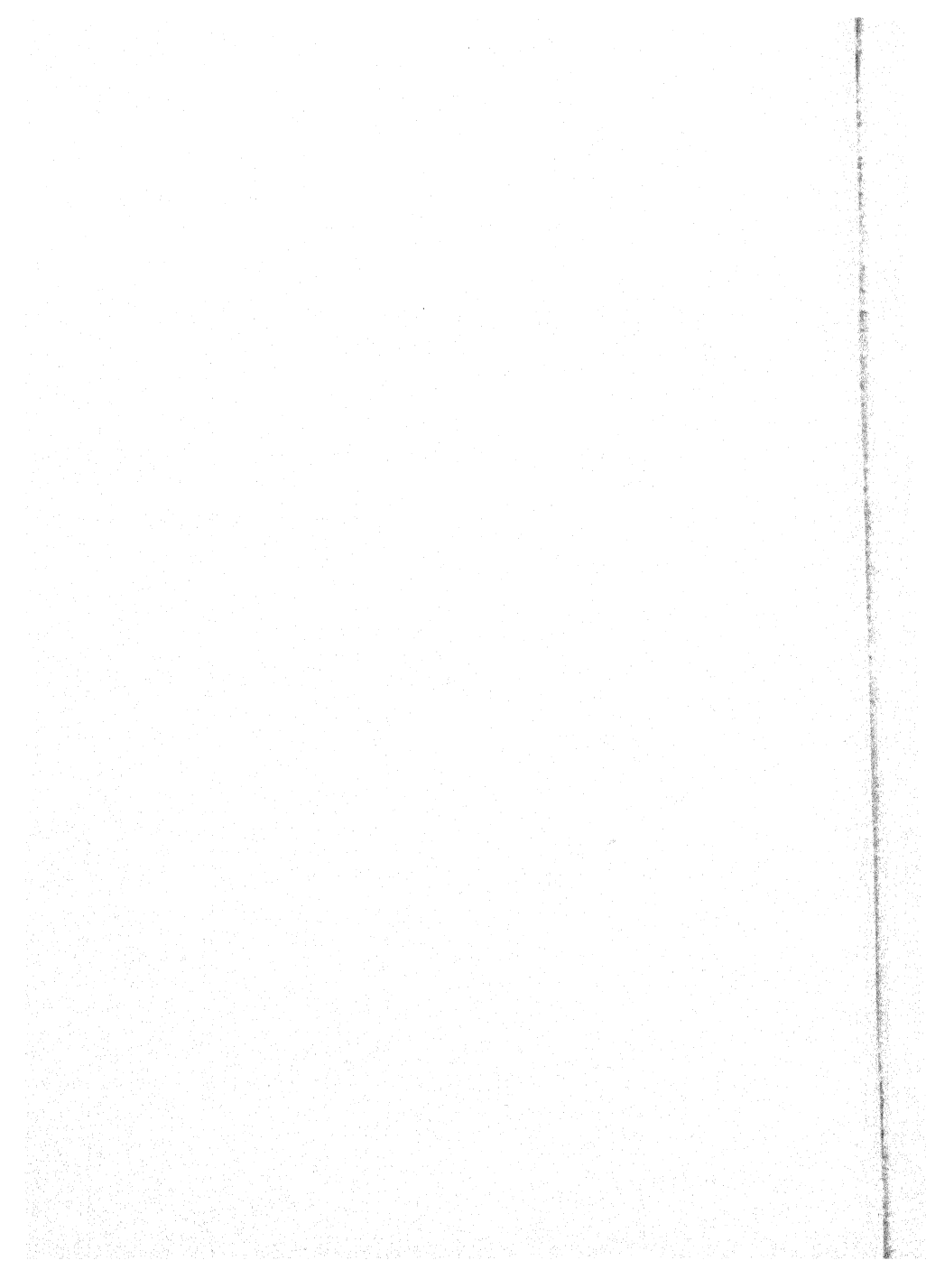
Smyrnakes refers to these benefactions but

¹ The man with the jug, who sits on St. George's crupper in the *eikon*, was a slave in Paynim lands and rescued by St. George when in the act of pouring out for his master.

² Jan. 26: but no date is given by the *Synaxarion*, nor is Athos mentioned. ³ Smyrnakes, p. 618: cf., however, Brockhaus, p. 7 (*supra*, p. 19). ⁴ P. 332.



XENOPHONTOS



XENOPHONTOS

assigns them to the *drugarius* Stephen who restored the monastery at this date.¹ The same author mentions that the monastery had benefactions from Basil Bulgaróktonos (976–1025). It is perhaps worthy of remark that Rycaut² speaks of the founder as a Bulgarian monk, and that Webber-Smith as late as 1833 speaks of it as tenanted by Serbians and Bulgarians.³

The chief benefactors seem to have been Moldo-Wallachian voivodes and nobles, by whom a considerable restoration was undertaken in 1545. The monastery was assisted by the Rumanian hospodars in the eighteenth century and became a *coenobion* in 1784, after which follows a period of rebuilding.

The present buildings date from two periods, the middle of the sixteenth and the early years of the nineteenth century (when a great enlargement took place),⁴ and they possess many points of interest and beauty. The original monastery was probably an oblong court with the arsenal pro-

¹ Cf. document dated 1083, cited by Langlois, p. 53.

² *Greek and Armenian Churches*, p. 240. ³ *J.R.G.S.*, vii, 71.

⁴ Hunt, in whose time this enlargement took place, says the site on the sea had been found to be feverish (for Hunt, see Walpole's *Memoirs*, 2nd ed., p. 216).

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

jecting from it to the sea. The entrance is at the S.W. corner of this court, having on its left the refectory and on its right the grain store convenient for the arsenal. The east side of this court, which like the rest of the site slopes gently towards the sea, is a range with wooden galleries opening on to the court. The small *katholikòn* is connected by a gallery with the refectory: it has remains of a marble mosaic pavement and columns with ancient Corinthian capitals. The north end of the original court has been cleared away and here begins the rebuilding of 1800, which has never been completed. The fine seaward range (Pl. 15) stands on a high basement or terrace-wall buttressed at intervals and with a brick arcade carried on corbels between the buttresses. Above this is an ordinary two-storeyed building with galleries at intervals on the outer side and Turkish bays on the court. Two domed chapels projecting into the court mark the extremities of the new range. The other sides of the new court are enclosed by a high battlemented wall with *machicoulis* at the corners and a *chemin-de-ronde*—a curious survival of the Middle Ages. Fireplaces and windows have been inserted along the upper

XENOPHONTOS

part of the wall in preparation for intended new ranges. The bell-tower and new *katholikòn* are plain modern buildings: the latter has domed apses, and the roofs, except those of the central and *narthex* domes, are slated.

Building dates :—

XI cent. Pavement of old *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 288, no. 20).

XIV cent. Mosaics of St. George and St. Demetrius (Brockhaus, p. 290, no. 73 : Smyrnakes, p. 623).

1475 ? Painting of refectory (Smyrnakes, p. 622).

1545–1564. Paintings in old *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 292, no. 106).

1564. Completion of old *katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 622).

XVII cent. Paintings of refectory (Brockhaus, p. 293, no. 133).

c. 1800. Seaward range (Hunt in Walpole's *Memoirs*, p. 216).

1817–1837. New *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 294, no. 150).

CHAPTER XIII

DOCHEIARÍOU

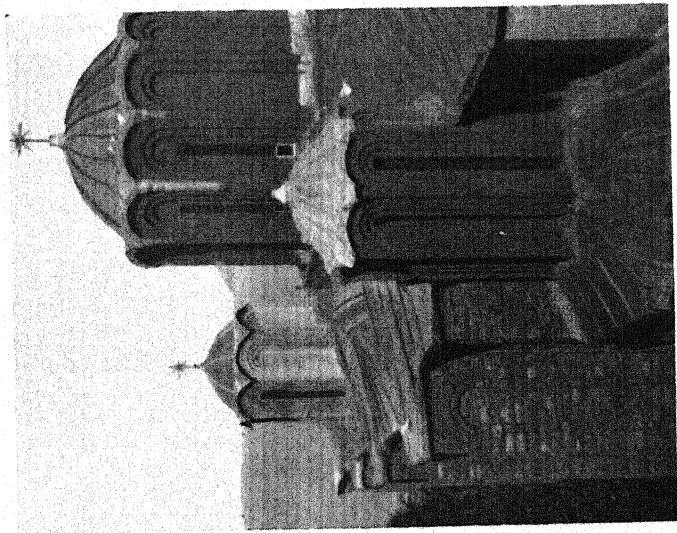
THE monastery of Docheiaríou (the 'store-keeper': Plate 17) is situated a short half-hour north of Xenophontos on an olive-clad hillside close by the sea.

Records of Docheiariou go back to the first half of the eleventh century.¹ The foundation is ascribed to Euthymius, abbot of Daphne, the friend of Athanasius, who moved to a site above the present after the destruction of his own monastery and built a church of St. Nicolas. The monks afterwards bought the present site from Xenophontos (c. 1046), the new monastery being dedicated to St. Michael on account of the miracle at Sithonia, which is here given in Rycaut's words ²:—

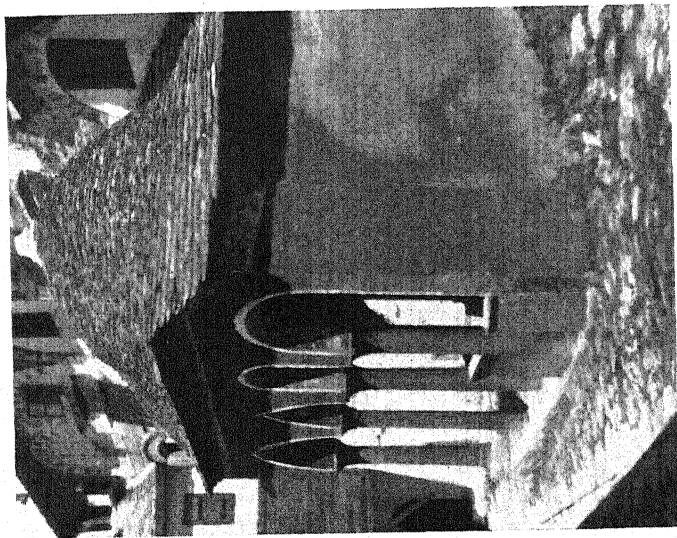
'A poor Boy, attending the little Flocks of this Monastery in the Fields, accidentally found

¹ Cf. Langlois, p. 48.
pp. 240 ff.

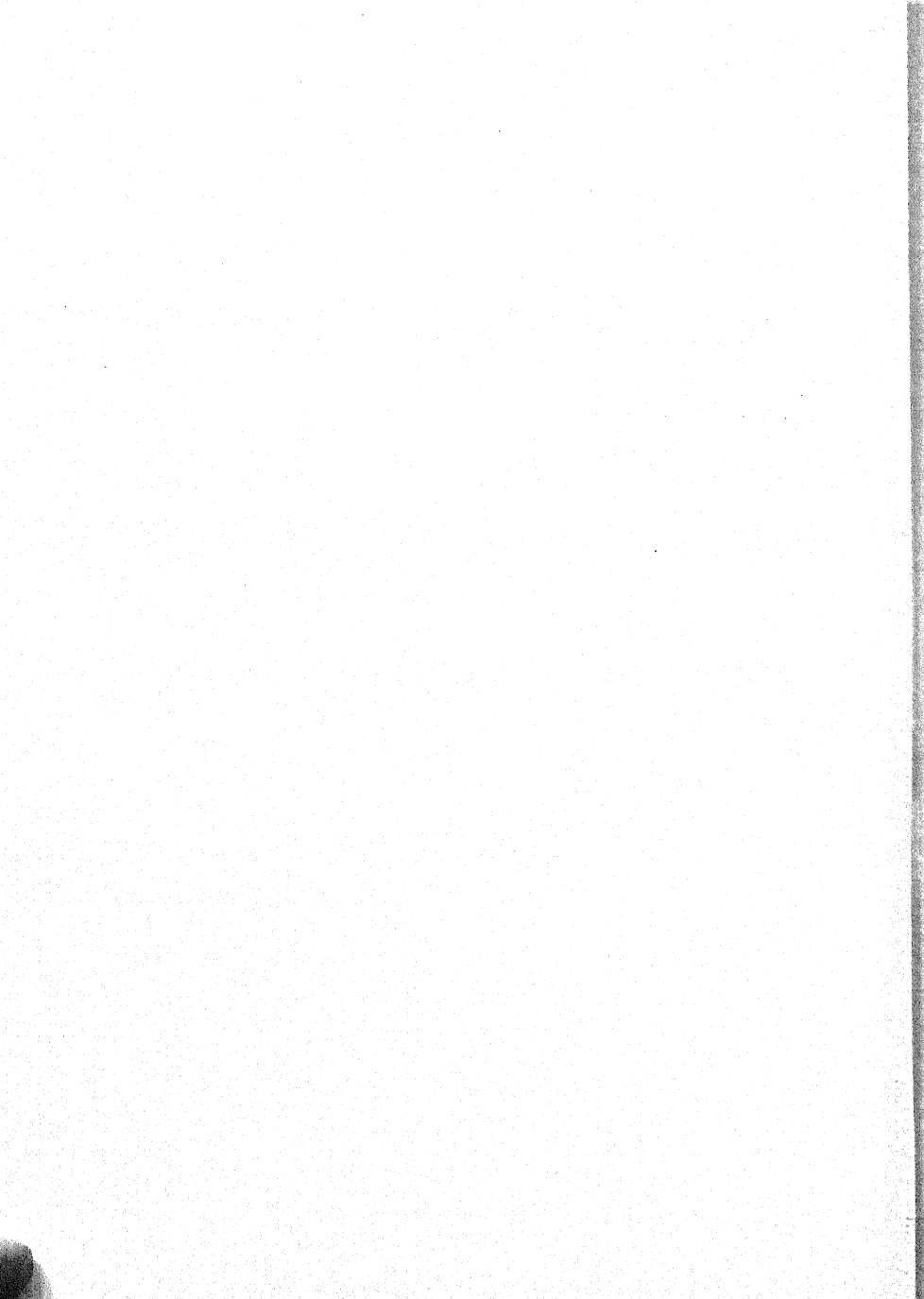
² *Greek and Armenian Churches*,



(a) DOCHEIARIOU : DOMES OF CHURCH



(b) DOCHEIARIOU : *PHILALE*



DOCHEIARIOU

a Stone with an Inscription thereon, directing to a place of hidden Treasure ; after the reading of which, the Prior sent some *Kaloires* with the Boy to discover it and bring it to the Monastery ; which having found, they designed it for themselves and appropriated it to their own peculiar benefit, without other account thereof unto their Prior : to which end they threw the Boy from a Rock into the Sea, with a Stone about his neck, who falling called upon S. Michael : which having done, and secured the Treasure, they returned home, and reported that the Boy had feigned a false Story, and for fear of punishment was run away. The next morning early the Clerk of the Chappel entring into the Vestry to light the Lamps, found the Boy cold and wet, and half dead with the stone about his neck of which acquainting the Prior, he came in haste, and learned the whole truth of the Story ; for which cause he punished the *Kaloires*, recovered the Treasure, and therewith enlarged the Monastery, and again consecrated it and dedicated it to Saint *Michael*, by whose favour and protection the poor Boy was conserved.'

The miracle is said to have taken place in the

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

time of the abbot Neophytos, nephew of St. Euthymius, cited as second founder of the monastery by the *Proskynetarion*¹ of Komnenos. The hero of the story became in due course abbot under the name of Barnabas.

Imperial and princely benefactors of the monastery were Eudocia with her two sons Michael Parapinákēs (1071–78) and Andronicus, also Alexander of Moldavia, who with his family restored the monastery in 1568, after a period of desertion. The work was supervised by the retired bishop of Moldavia, Theophanes.

The site of Docheiariou rises steeply from the sea, culminating in the fine tower which stands at the apex of a rough triangle of buildings. The entrance is on the south side and the approaches to it terraced and prettily planted. The court within is of the cramped type, ranges of buildings hemming in the fine church on every side except the east, where two high step-like terraces lead up to the tower. Most of the present buildings seem to date from the Moldavian benefactions.

The gate-house is a simple low tower with a *machicoulis* above the portal. The church, con-

¹ P. 115.

DOCHEIARIOU

sidered among the finest on Athos, was built in 1568 and displays marked Moldavian features in the use of buttresses (otherwise unique on Athos¹), the elongated shape of the domes (Pl. 17), and its high proportions, which alone give it dignity in the court. The *narthex* is unusually spacious, being larger than the church proper. The frescoes deserve notice as a very perfect and homogeneous series displayed in a striking church and occupy the whole height of the building; the scheme is given by Brockhaus.² The bell-tower is an eighteenth century addition. The church is connected by a covered gallery on the S.W. side with the refectory, and on the north with the cells. There is a lateral chapel on the north side only, dedicated to the Forty Martyrs: in the galleries (*κατηχούμενα*) are others of the Baptist and St. Nicolas. The *phiale* (Pl. 17) is a plain arcade abutting on the wall. The guest rooms occupy a charming wooden framed building purely Turkish in style and dated 1753; they stand on the highest terrace. The tower is one of the finest on Athos, closely resembling that at Karakallou. The simple

¹ They are a Moldavian feature rarely found in Byzantine churches of the other principality (Tafrali in *Rév. Arch.* xvi, 1910, pp. 81 ff.). ² Plates 12-16.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

elevation depends for its effect on its proportions and a long corbelled *machicoulis* which is its only ornament.

Building dates :—

1547. Refectory (Smyrnakes, p. 570).

1568. *Katholikòn* with frescoes (probably also tower and much other work : cf. Smyrnakes, p. 567, etc.).

1617. Restoration of tower (Smyrnakes, p. 571).

1636. N. chapel of *katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 569).

1704. Bell-tower (Smyrnakes, p. 571).

1753. Guest-house (F.W.H.).

1768–1783. Screen (Brockhaus, p. 293, no. 139).

CHAPTER XIV

KASTAMONÍTOU

THE monastery of Kastamonítou (Pl. 18) stands on a hillside two hours from Docheiariou and an hour from the sea, which is not visible from it. The site, though enclosed by hills, is said to be airy and healthy.

The name of the monastery, regularly written *Κωνστανμονίτου*, is commonly derived from the name of the reputed founder Constans and the word *μονή* (monastery), but is certainly from the ethnic (*Κασταμονίτης*) of Kastamoni in Paphlagonia.¹ Tradition of course associates Constans with Constantine the Great as joint imperial founder, and the usual vicissitudes—destruction by Julian and by Michael Palaeologus—follow as a matter of piety and patriotism. But the monastery

¹ Anna Comnena (vii, p. 205 P : cf. Zonaras, xviii, 22) mentions a Niketas Kastamonites in command of a Byzantine fleet in 1090, but the earliest document of the monastery cited by Langlois (p. 54) dates from 1037; it seems to be unknown to Smyrnakes.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

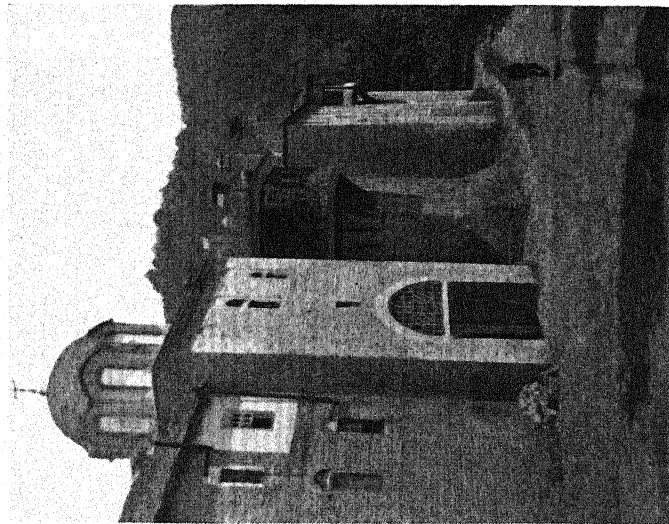
is not mentioned in documents before the end of the eleventh century.

Benefactors were the Emperors John Palaeologus and Manuel II Palaeologus, the Serbian princess Anna Philanthropenè (about 1360) and the Serbian general Raditch (1433) who restored it after a fire and himself took the vows under the name of Romanus. Many of the abbots sign their names in Slavonic.

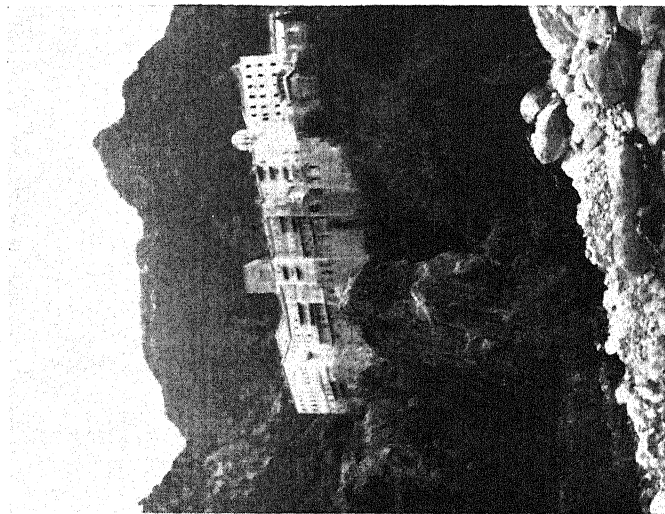
At the end of the seventeenth century the monastery was poor and excused tribute. In 1772 it was completely ruined. It became a *coenobion* in 1799 and some rebuilding was undertaken about 1820, but the Revolution troubles led to a second abandonment.

Both the Russians and the Rumanians of the *skete*¹ made an attempt to buy up the monastery and put it on a better footing, but the Patriarchate intervened in the latter case on national grounds. In the fifties of the last century two monks of Sinai undertook the work of restoration, which was accomplished largely with funds collected in Russia. The monastery is still poor, but is plainly and solidly built and shows every mark of thrifty administration and austere life.

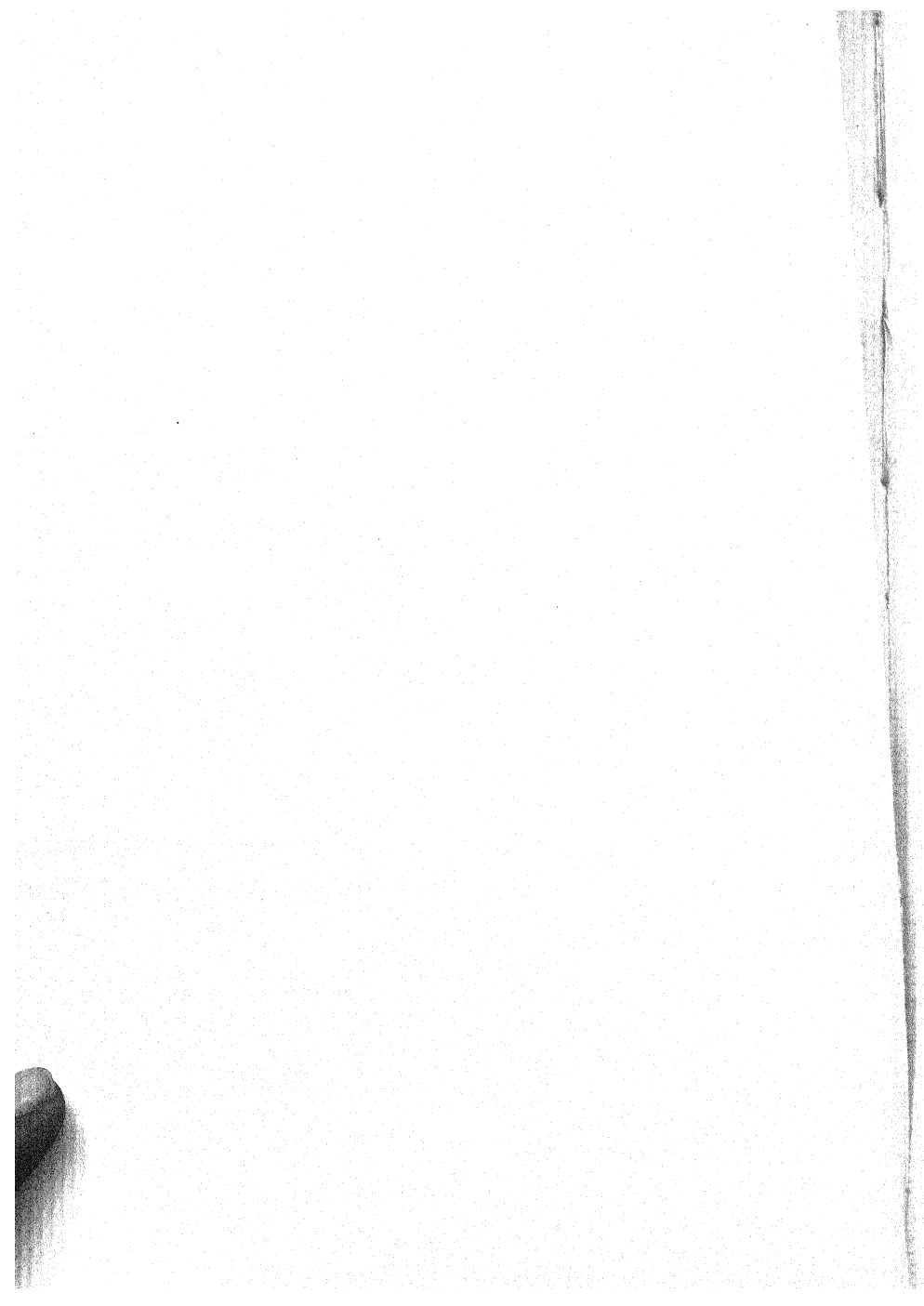
¹ Delikanes, p. 195.



(a) KASTAMONITOU : ENTRANCE



(b) ST. PAUL'S : GENERAL VIEW FROM W.



KASTAMONITOU

Nearly all the existing buildings date from after the Revolution, including the church (St. Stephen). The court is a fairly regular rectangle with the gate on the south side. The east and part of the south ranges alone remain of the pre-Revolution buildings. This portion is a picturesque building of brick and rubble, with irregular brick arcades and timber-framed bays, dated 1820 and said to have been constructed at the charges of Vasiliki, the Greek wife of Ali Pasha, who interested herself in the foundation as the then abbot was from Yánnina. In this building are the guest rooms, which are built over a small remaining portion of the tower of the monastery. The wood carvings and inlaid work of the chapel of Portaítissa are worthy of notice for their refinement: they are the work of a single self-taught Macedonian monk who died about twelve years ago.¹

Building dates :—

1728. N. part of E. range (Smyrnakes, p. 685).

1820. S.E. corner (but cf. Smyrnakes, p. 685).

1867. *Katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 686).

1885. Part of E. range (Smyrnakes, p. 685).

¹ i.e., about 1900.

CHAPTER XV

ZOGRÁPHOU

ZOGRÁPHOU is a large and wealthy Bulgarian foundation dedicated to St. George and inhabited chiefly by Macedonians. It stands on the slope of a beautifully wooded valley on the south side of the watershed, a short hour from Kastamonitou and rather more from the sea, where it possesses an 'arsenal' with a fine and apparently early tower.

The titular founders of Zographou are three nobles of Ochrida, Moses, Aaron, and John, who took the vows there: the traditional date, the reign of Leo the Wise (886-912) must be rejected. Smyrnakes says it is mentioned in a document of 980.¹ According to Delikanes,² Zographou began as a cell dependent on a vanished monastery (τοῦ Νεακίτου) and took rank as a sovereign monastery about 1280. But tradition says it was

¹ Cf. Langlois, p. 62.

² P. 180.

ZOGRAPHOU

one of those which suffered most from the Latinizing party, and the twenty-one monks burnt to death in a tower of the monastery at this time are commemorated by a modern cenotaph in the court. About 1500 there was a great rebuilding aided by the Voivodes of Moldavia,¹ but of this nothing now remains, though a long description of the *katholikòn* is preserved in the *Proskynetarion* of Komnenos.² In 1634 there were 145 monks.³

As to the nationality of the monastery, it seems to have been consistently Slavonic,⁴ though the service was held in Greek and Slavonic alternately till 1845.⁵ It became a *coenobion* only in 1850. It is now the richest monastery except the Russian, owing to revenues derived from lands in Bessarabia.

The site of the monastery sloped originally very steeply down from east to west. The plan is a single large court opening on the north. In it are two magnificent cypresses and two churches, the

¹ Especially Stephen IV the Great (1458-1504), who is called the founder of the monastery by the contemporary Isaias (Khitrovo, p. 260). ² P. 110. ³ Patriarchal letter cited by Smyrnakes, p. 557. ⁴ The earlier chrysobulls are Serbian and Moldo-Wallachian. The nationality is not mentioned by Isaias (Khitrovo, p. 260). ⁵ Smyrnakes, p. 560.

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smaller built in 1764, the larger in 1801, both painted with stripes of red and white.

Of the ranges of buildings enclosing the court all are modern except the eastern and part of the southern. The former is a fine and picturesque specimen of early nineteenth century arcaded brick-work, three storeys high and centring in a clock tower (Pl. 11).

The modern buildings are four storeys high, plainly and solidly built of squared stone with iron balconies; the architect, I was told, was a master-mason. The refectory faces the west door of the church.

The guest rooms (in the new building) are particularly spacious and well-kept, and the whole monastery shows signs not only of wealth but of great orderliness and decency. The surroundings are beautifully wooded with plantations of cypresses.

Building dates :—

1764. Old *katholikòn* (Κολυμνίς) (Smyrnakes, p. 558).

1801. New *katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 557).

1810. Clock tower (Smyrnakes, p. 558).

1860–1896. New buildings (Smyrnakes, p. 556).

CHAPTER XVI

CHILANDÁRI

CHILANDÁRI¹ lies two hours from Zographou, across the ridge, in a quiet wooded valley, nearly an hour from its arsenal on the northern shore of the peninsula.

The foundation is attributed to the Serbian King Stephen Nemanja and his son St. Sabbas, who took the vows at Vatopedi in 1186. The King himself was persuaded by his son to embrace the monastic life, taking the name of Symeon. He founded the Serbian monastery of Studenitsa in Macedonia and, having married a daughter of the emperor Alexius III Angelus Comnenus (1195-1203), used his influence at Constantinople to obtain the cession of a ruined monastery from Vatopedi, of which he was a benefactor. This

¹ The name (τοῦ Χιλανδαρίου, in Serbian ХИЛАНДАР) is probably that of a person, though many fantastic derivations have been proposed. A Georgios Χιλανδάρης occurs in a document of 985 (Kirsopp Lake, *App.* 4, p. 105).

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monastery he rebuilt and endowed. The foundation was a national one, and the Slavs of Vatopedi colonised the new foundation. The connection of the two monasteries was commemorated till lately by an interchange of official visits on their respective feast-days.¹

The monastery was subsequently endowed by various Serbian princes. The original *katholikòn* of Stephen Nemanja was rebuilt by Stephen Urosh III Milutin and the *exo-narthex* by Lazar I. The most important chrysobulls are Serbian, with a few Bulgarian, Russian, and Byzantine, the latter nearly all of Andronicus Palaeologus.²

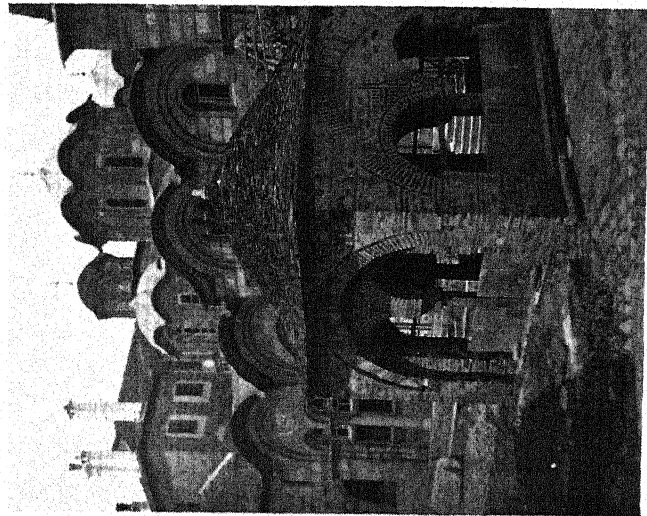
The monastery retained its Slavonic nationality throughout, Serbs or Bulgarians predominating.³ The majority of the monks are now Bulgarian but the monastery is officially recognised as Serbian and the Serbian minority control it.

Chilandari suffered much from the quartering of Turkish troops in it during the Revolution, when it was nearly abandoned by the monks; before this it seems from the buildings to have been prosperous. It is now poor, and attempts to

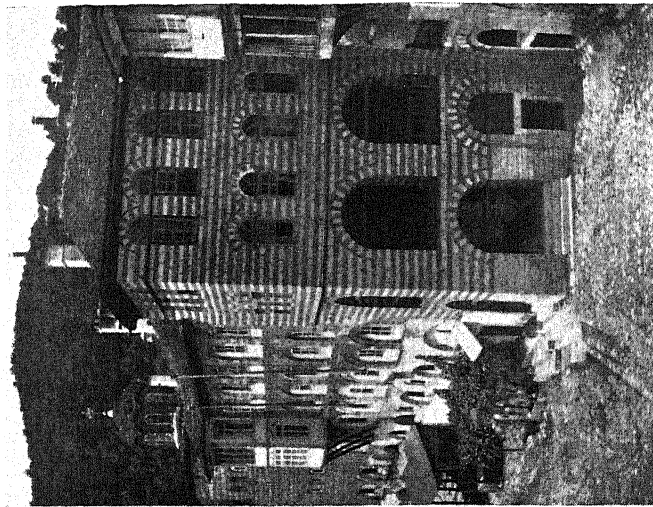
¹ Smyrnakes, p. 429.

² Langlois, pp. 57-60, 84-90.

³ It was Bulgarian in 1762 (Smyrnakes, p. 491).



(a) CHILANDARI : CHURCH



(b) CHILANDARI : STAIRCASE TO GUEST-ROOMS



CHILANDARI

introduce the coenobiac rule (1870, 1874, 1877) have been unsuccessful.¹

Of the buildings of Chilandari only the *katholikòn* and tower have any pretensions to antiquity: the rest of the buildings, in their present form at least, are subsequent to the fire of 1722, but none are startlingly new and the monastery as a whole has a harmonious, old-fashioned appearance.

The original court probably ended northwards at the great tower which now stands about the middle of the eastern side of the court, which seems to have been enlarged by an irregular extension northwards about 1800.

The church (Pl. 19), dedicated to the Presentation of the Virgin, long in its proportions and homogeneous in character, boasts the finest exterior on Athos. The walls are broken up into distinct bays decorated with elaborate tile-work which accentuates the architectural lines: the detail of the sculptured plaques on the south side is interesting as betraying northern influence. The numerous doors are a Serbian feature, and the omission of the lateral chapels is unusual on Athos.

The interior is divided into *nàds* proper and two

¹ Riley was told it was no economy (*Athos*, p. 378).

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nárthekes. Each of the three compartments has doors north and south. The *naòs* contains the finest marble mosaic pavement on Athos, the tomb of the founder Stephen Nemanja (in religion Symeon) and the famous picture¹ of the Three-Handed Virgin (II. Τριχειροῦσα). There are remains of the original marble screen. The inner *narthex* is of the usual form, roofed with six vaults supported on two columns: the lintel of the west door with its projecting carved beasts should be noted.² The outer *narthex*, instead of being a mere colonnade or porch, follows the lines of the inner, being entirely enclosed and supported by two columns.

The *phiale* (on the north of the church) is late and poor: it is surrounded by four cypresses. The tower, attributed to the founder, but known to have been repaired since, is imposing and entirely different from any other on the Mountain.

The refectory with its cloister faces the west door of the church as usual. This and the rest of the buildings about the church seem to date

¹ Numerous miracles are attributed to this picture. Thus, Joannes Damascenus had his hand cut off by iconoclasts: on his applying the stump to the picture, a new hand grew.

² Cf. Miss Durham's drawing of Studenitsa, *Lands of the Serb*, to face p. 238.

CHILANDARI

from the latter half of the eighteenth century ; the rest from the early nineteenth, to which date we may attribute the enlargement of the court. The later buildings are massively constructed of stone and tile in courses. The gateway, with its small open arcade over, and the staircase (Pl. 19), planned on a corner, are original features.

Building dates :—

c. 1197. Pavement of *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 288, no. 35).

XII cent. ? Tower (restored 1688) (Smyrnakes p. 485).

1293. *Katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 486).

1302. ? Tower of Arsenal (Smyrnakes, p. 497).

1374. Outer *exo-narthex* (Smyrnakes, p. 487).

1777–1778. W. range near *katholikòn*¹ (Smyrnakes, p. 486).

1766 1782 1784	}	S. range (Smyrnakes, p. 485).
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1797. Refectory (F.W.H.).

1819 1820 1846	}	N. part of W. range (Smyrnakes, p. 486).
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1894. Hospital (Smyrnakes, p. 486).

¹ A fire in 1722 left only the *katholikòn* untouched (Smyrnakes, p. 493).

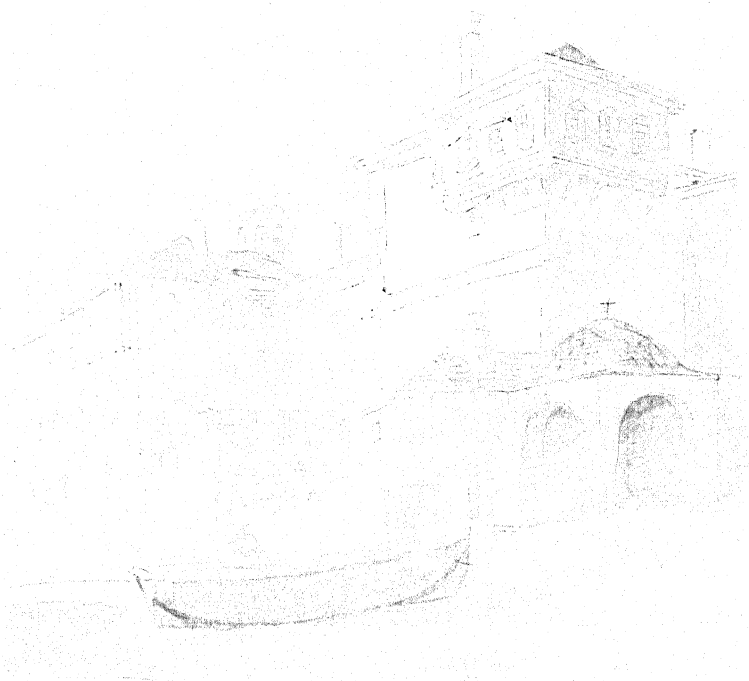
CHAPTER XVII

ESPHIGMÉNOU

ESPHIGMÉNOU (Pl. 20) lies a short hour from Chilandari in a small plain by the sea: it is generally supposed to have received its name from its cramped position. But its position is not cramped and its name is 'Εσφιγμένον, not 'Εσφιγμένη (*sc.* μονή) or 'Εσφιγμένον (*sc.* μοναστήριον). It is more probably the name or nickname of a hermit, an alternative suggested by Smyrnakes.¹

The titular founders are Theodosius II and Pulcheria, but the monastery is not mentioned in documents earlier than 1034.² It seems always to have ranked among the less important monasteries, to have suffered from piratical raids,³ and generally to have been poor. In 1819 a monk, Gregorios of Melnik in Macedonia, travelled, especially in Russia, collecting funds for the rebuilding of the

¹ Cf. Riley, p. 368. ² Smyrnakes, pp. 636 and 651; cf. Langlois, p. 44. ³ 1533 and 1634 (Smyrnakes, p. 641).



ESPHIGMENOU : MORNING



ESPHIGMENOU

katholikòn,¹ but shortly after the monastery was severely tried by the events of the Revolution.² A great revival took place in the forties of the last century, to which the present buildings, occupying double the area of the old, bear eloquent testimony.

The monastery has always had a connection with Russia,³ owing to its possession of the cave of the Russian hermit Antony of Kiev (983-1073). This, with its poverty, has laid it open to Russian intrigue, and, it must in fairness be added, to Russian contributions. The Russians first desired to buy the cave, but the abbot refused. On account, however, of the financial straits of the monastery he was willing to sell them a cell of Esphigmenou situated at Karyès: the transaction was stopped by the intervention of the Community, and seems to have been discreditable to both parties⁴ equally.

The walls of Esphigmenou are washed by the sea (Pl. 6), and the monastery makes a good

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 649. ² Smyrnakes, p. 647. ³ The Tzar Alexius (1645-76) authorised a collection in Russia every five years for the monastery and most of the money spent on the late rebuilding seems to have been Russian.

⁴ Karolides, pp. 101 ff.

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show from outside. A closer view is disappointing, most of the buildings being quite modern and the old portion insignificant. The entrance is on the landward side (Pl. 21) under the bell-tower : there is also a small and picturesque water-gate at the N.W. corner. The older portion of the monastery dates from the early nineteenth century. It includes the west side, part of the south side, and the plain and featureless refectory which projects from the west side of the court towards the west door of the *katholikòn*. The latter, dedicated to the Ascension, is a large, modern, but imposing building of many domes, painted in the traditional red and white stripes. The modern ranges are of solid ashlar and not without interest for the building tradition of Athos. The main feature of the north (seaward) side is the skimpy tower. Arcades on the first floor with inserted wooden bays preserve the tradition of the last century. The arcade running along the front of the large chapel (still building) on the upper storey of the east side of the court is a pleasing idea : in the interior of this chapel, in spite of its position, the apsidal choir is retained.

ESPHIGMENOU

Building dates :—

1716. Parts of W. range (Smyrnakes, p. 640).

1808–1811. *Katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 641).

1810. Refectory (Smyrnakes, p. 647).

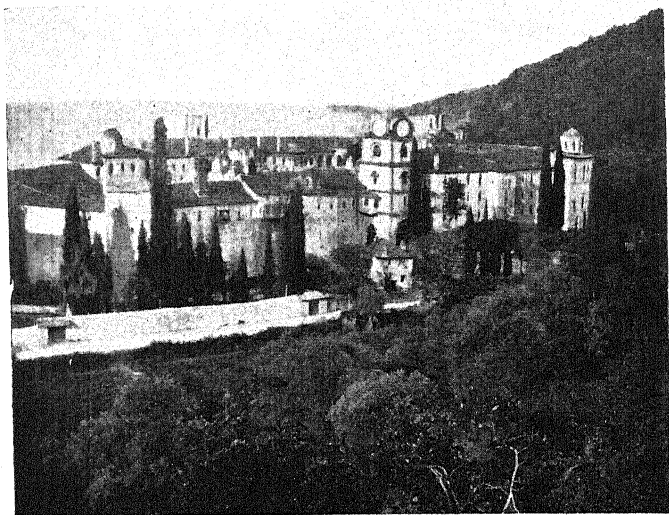
1857–1858 } New buildings (Smyrnakes, p. 640).
1854 }

CHAPTER XVIII

VATOPÉDI

VATOPÉDI is situated close beside the sea about two hours by the coast from Esphigmenou. It has been from the beginning a large, rich, and populous monastery, and boasts the usual early traditions. It was founded by Constantine, destroyed by Julian, re-founded by Theodosius, and sacked by the Arabs. The name Βατοπαίδιον (thorn-child), properly Βατοπέδιον (thorn-ground), is derived from finding, miraculously preserved in a bramble-bush, Arcadius, son of Theodosius, who had fallen overboard from a ship in a storm. Another miracle is recorded of the Arab invasion: a deacon, wishing to save the picture of the Virgin from outrage, dropped it into a well in the church, where, after being released by Nicephorus Phocas from slavery in Crete, he found it on his return.

The historical founders are three Adrianopolitans, Athanasius, Nicolas, and Antony (late tenth cen-



(a) ESPHIGMENOUE : LAND FRONT



(b) VATOPEDI : W. FRONT



VATOPEDI

ture). The founders of Chilandari, Sabbas and Symeon, are also recognised as early benefactors, while King Lazar I of Serbia (1372-89) was the donor of the most notable relic, the girdle of the Virgin. Imperial benefactors were Manuel II Palaeologus and Andronicus II Palaeologus. John Cantacuzenus became a monk at Vatopedi in 1355. The Russian *skete* of St. Andrew (the 'Serai') is a dependency of the monastery easily eclipsing the mother foundation in numbers.¹

The buildings enclose a very large court of roughly triangular shape laid out on a site overlooking the sea and rising sharply from it. From without, the monastery is less severe in appearance than most, in spite of its towers, which on account of the scale of the court fail to dominate it: from some points of view Vatopedi has somewhat the appearance of a great country house standing in wooded grounds (Pl. 21).

The gateway to the west is prefaced by a porch of the late 'baldacchino' type. The range right of it is a modern and dull classical building: left is a plain wall defended by a moat, which is formed by a dam feeding the monastic mill. The other

¹ Vatopedi was a *coenobion* between 1573-1661 (Smyrnakes, p. 444).

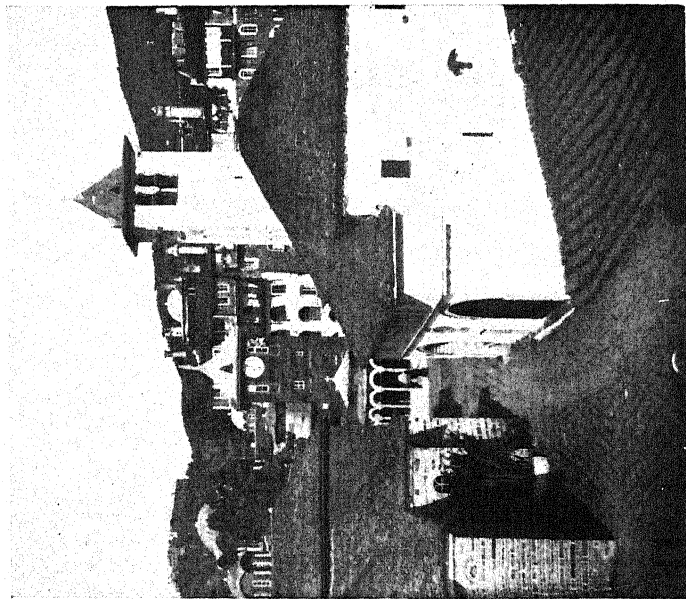
ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

sides of the court call for no comment. A small quadrangle containing hospital buildings had recently been added on the east. The position of the *katholikòn* and bell-tower (Pl. 22), which are crowded into the east corner of the unusually spacious court, suggests a considerable extension westwards of the original court,¹ but none of the existing ranges is of great age or architectural interest, though extremely picturesque in general effect. Great charm is added to the court by the steep slope of the site and the poplars.

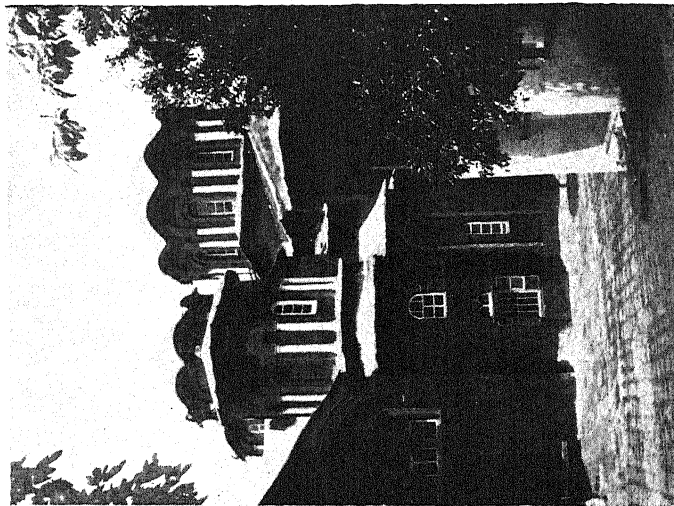
Standing free in the court are the *katholikòn*, the bell-tower and *phiale*, the chapels of the Holy Zone and the SS. Anargyroi, the Refectory, and the oil- and meal-stores.

The *katholikòn* (Pl. 22), dedicated to the Annunciation, preserves the main lines of the typical Athos plan and approaches very closely the original model, the *katholikòn* of Lavra.²

¹ To judge by inscriptions (Millet, nos. 127-128 dated 1654-44 and 131-132 dated 1646) at the gateway, this extension was made about the middle of the seventeenth century, while the rest of the building was built later. Covel (1677) says (*loc. cit.*, p. 124) that only the north and part of the east ranges were built in his time. ² The substitution of columns supporting the dome for the masonry pillars of Lavra is best accounted for by the presence of the requisite monoliths in the one case and not in the other.



(a) VATOPEDI : BELL TOWER AND PHILALE
(By kind permission of Brit. Sch. Ann.)



(b) VATOPEDI : DOMES OF CHURCH

VATOPEDI

The place of the customary spacious *eso-narthex* is taken by two narrow ones called *mesonyktikòn* (μεσονυκτικὸν) and *litè* (λίτη) respectively. From the outer (λίτη) open the side-chapels, dedicated to St. Demetrius (north) and St. Nicolas (south). To the *exo-narthex*, a two-storeyed building with an open arcade on the ground floor, is attached at the south end a clock-tower which abuts clumsily on the *phiale*: indeed the whole *exo-narthex* was evidently designed without respect to the latter, and probably does not replace an earlier porch.

The interior is rich and impressive. The four columns supporting the dome are granite monoliths encircled by brass rings. The church fittings, carved wood screen, pearl-inlaid *analógia* and *proskynetária*, and brass *corona* are good of their kind and the frescoes impressive in the dim light. Two pictures, placed at the east columns and representing the Virgin and the Angels entertained by Abraham, are said to have come from St. Sophia at Salonica. The treasury (in the church) is rich in relics and goldsmiths' work.

In the *mesonyktikòn* are a marble mosaic pavement and the reputed tomb of the Imperial founders. The *litè* also is paved with marble but

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

is chiefly remarkable for its outer façade. The square doorway is set within the central arch of five, which are borne on marble columns with Ionic impost capitals. The tympanum over the door is decorated with a relief of Christ enthroned between the Virgin (right) and the Baptist (left). The two bays on either side are closed by carved marble slabs breast-high, the open space above being now glazed. On either side of the arcade are mosaic panels representing (left) the Virgin and (right) the Angel of the Annunciation. The mosaics are of the fourteenth century.

The *phiale* is remarkable for the double circle of (eight and sixteen) columns surrounding it; the Campanile is the only early example on Athos. The refectory, though modern,¹ is of some interest for its plan and paintings. It stands immediately opposite the door of the *katholikòn*, and is prefaced by an open porch resting on four pillars with a room (the *synodikòn*) above. The interior has a cruciform plan, the transepts terminating in apses. The marble tables are of the old-fashioned D shape.

The Arsenal, in itself a commonplace building,

¹ 1785 (Millet, 117). But a cruciform refectory standing free and opposite the *katholikòn* was seen by Covert in 1677.

has a curious fifteenth century relief with a Slavonic inscription built in.

Building dates :—

X cent. *ad fin. katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 287, no. 12).

1312. Paintings in *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 290, no. 62).

XIV cent. Mosaics of Annunciation, etc. (Brockhaus, p. 290, no. 72).

1426. *Exo-narthex* (λίτη ?) of *katholikòn* (Millet, 46).

1427. Bell-tower (Millet, 115).

1644. Cells North (Millet, 128).

1654. Cells N.W. angle (Millet, 127).

1672. Arsenal (Millet, 140).

1708. Cells N.W. angle (Millet, 125).

1782. Cells left of gate (Millet, p. 126).

1785. Refectory (Millet, 117).

1794. Chapel of *Zone* (Millet, 100).

1818. Cells South (Millet, 123).

1819. *Narthex* restored (Brockhaus, p. 294, no. 149).

1859. Hospital (Smyrnakes, p. 442 : cf. Millet, 127).

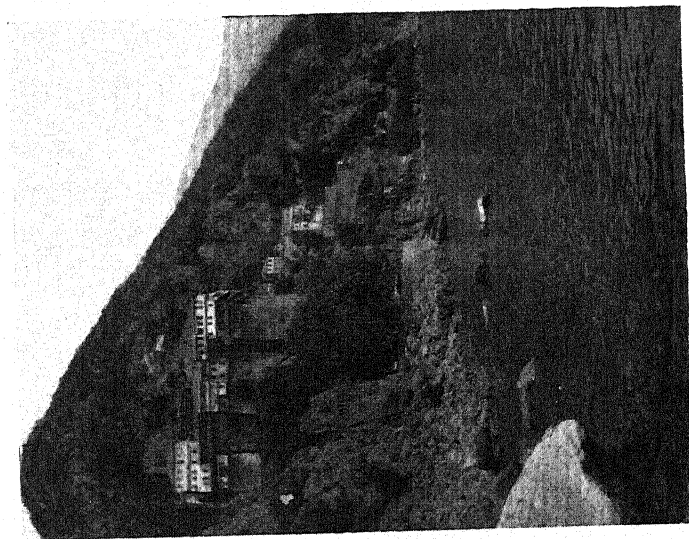
CHAPTER XIX

PANTOKRÁTOROS

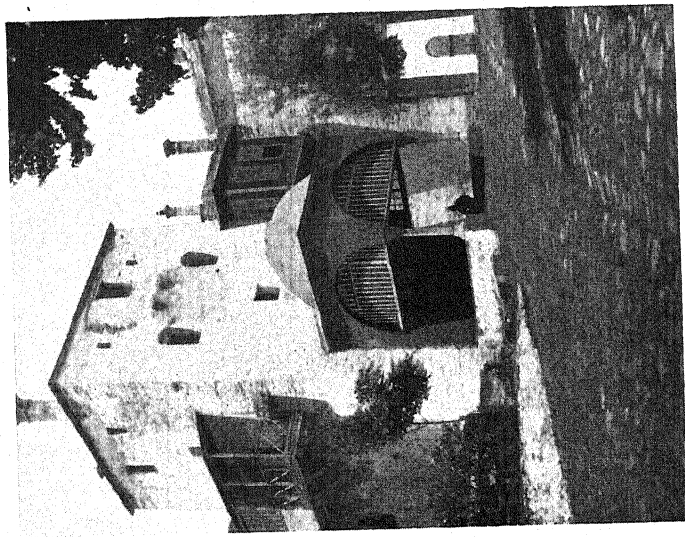
PANTOKRÁTOROS stands above the sea (Pl. 12) on a rocky promontory of moderate height: a small cove in the bay beneath forms its harbour. From without the monastery buildings compose well, culminating in the massive tower at the north-west corner.

Pantokrátoros was founded about 1357 by two Byzantine nobles, Alexius the stratopedarch and John the *primicerius*; the *katholikòn* was completed and the monastery dedicated in 1363. These facts are known from inscriptions, the founders having been buried in the *narthex* of the church along with a monk Jonas, who is not qualified as founder like the laymen, but may be assumed to have been the monastic originator of the scheme.¹

¹ See Millet's Inscr. 158, 160a. The version attributing the foundation to Alexius III Comnenus (of Trebizond) seems based on an erroneous or forged inscription. In the signature of an MS. (Lambros, i, 97) the name of the monk Jonas is changed to that of Joannikios, whose head is preserved at the monastery.



(a) DIONYSIOU



(b) PANTOKRÁTOROS : ENTRANCE

PANTOKRATOROS

A later 'founder' was Barboulos, *logothetes* of Ougrovlachia, who repaired the walls in 1536.¹ The original court of the monastery was evidently the northern half of the present enclosure, which follows the line of the *katholikòn* and is defended at its north-west corner by the great tower. It has subsequently been extended southward to the modern gateway (Pl. 23), which passes under a second tower and is prefaced by a late 'baldachino' porch. All the existing buildings but the great tower and *katholikòn* seem to be of the eighteenth century. They are of tile and brick decorated with a good deal of inlaid Persian faïence, mostly set in crosses. The small and much restored *katholikòn* has only one side-chapel and domes over the small apses, which are polygonal on the outside. The clock-tower is over the *narthex*.

Building dates :—

1363. *Katholikòn* (Millet, 158).

1536. Walls (Millet, 161).

[1537. Cells to West (Millet, 188)].

1637 or 1641. Cells to West repaired (Millet, 192).

¹ Millet, 161.

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1744. Refectory (Millet, 189).
1744. Part of West range (Smyrnakes, p. 532).
1776. Cells to West (Millet, 193).
1781. North cells (Millet, 194).
1847. Repairs to *katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 532).
1854. Repairs to *kathlikòn* (extension of *bema*, rebuilding of *narthex*: Smyrnakes, p. 530).

CHAPTER XX

STAVRONIKÉTA

THE monastery of Stavronikéta, standing high above the sea in beautifully wooded country, two hours from Pantokrátoros, was endowed by the Patriarch Jeremias about 1540 as a *coenobion*.¹ Documents show that it was originally a *skete* of Philotheou, taken over in 1533 by an Epirote, Gregorios Geromeriotes, and by him turned into a monastery. The deed of transfer was ratified by the Patriarch in 1536, but the monastery was abandoned at the death of Gregorios in 1539 and refounded in the following year by the Patriarch at the instance of the Community.

The monastery has suffered from fires in 1607, 1864, 1874, and 1878. After the last it became

¹ There is a tradition told by the monks to Riley (p. 118) by which the foundation is referred to the tenth century, and in fact a monastery τοῦ Προδρόμου Σταυρονικήτα is mentioned in a document of 1016 (Smyrnakes, p. 614).

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greatly impoverished, and the Russians in 1889 almost got possession of it.¹ Lately by good administration it has nearly paid off its debts.

The tiny original court of Stavroniketa evidently closely surrounded the *katholikòn* (dedicated to St. Nicolas), which is restricted to two parts, *naòs* and *narthex*. For considerations of space not only *exo-narthex* and side-chapels but even transeptal apses are suppressed. The chief treasures of the church are the hand of St. Anna set in filigree and enamel and a miraculous *eikon* in mosaic of St. Nicolas, which according to tradition was found in the sea by fishermen of the monastery in 1589²: it is called St. Nicolas 'of the oyster' (*Στρεϊδᾶς*), from an oyster which was then attached to it.

The refectory and kitchen are on the south side of the court and the original gate at the south-west corner, east of the great tower, which is one of the finest on Athos. Marks of a ridge-roof on the north side of the tower show that the court once ended here; the extension westward, including the present entrance, seems to date from

¹ There was also, according to Smyrnakes (p. 616), an attempt to capture the monastery by the Rumanians.

² Smyrnakes, p. 615.

STAVRONIKETA

the eighteenth century. The guest-rooms, at the north-east corner of the monastery, command wonderful views of sea and land.

Building dates :—

1546. Walls near gate (and tower ?) (Millet, 214).

1546-1553-1628. *Katholikòn* (Millet, 201-203).

1770. Refectory (Millet, 211).

1810. *Synodikòn* (Millet, 213).

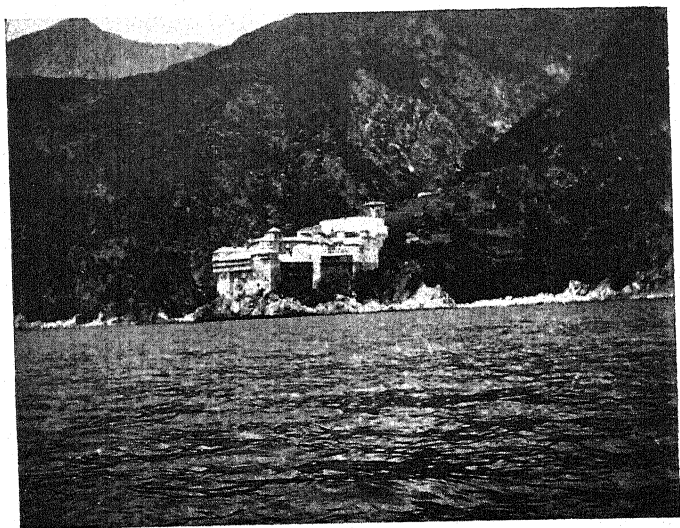
CHAPTER XXI

IVÉRON

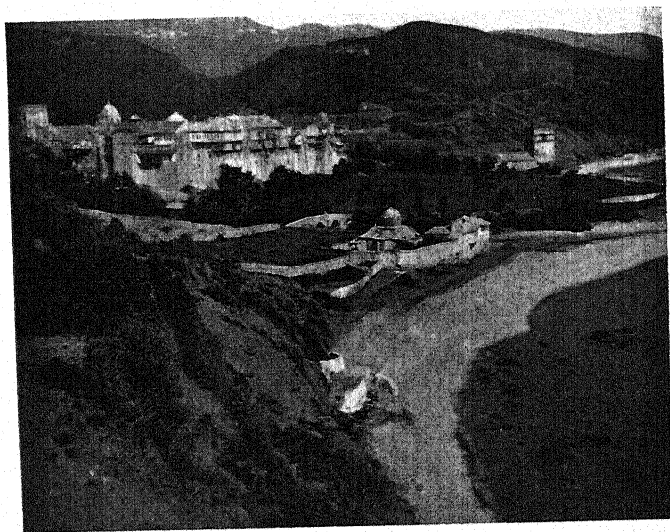
THE foundation of Ivéron, the monastery of the Iberians, took place very shortly after that of Lavra, about 980,¹ with the countenance of Athanasius. Previous to the foundation several early documents mention a certain monastery of Clement (μονήδριον Κλήμεντος), which is said to have occupied the site of the present chapel of the Baptist called Clement chapel (Κλημεντία).²

The founders were three Georgians, John Varasvatze,³ his son Euthymius, and his brother-in-law Thornic: the two former had been monks on the Mysian Olympus, whence they had migrated to Lavra, afterwards occupying a cell a mile off

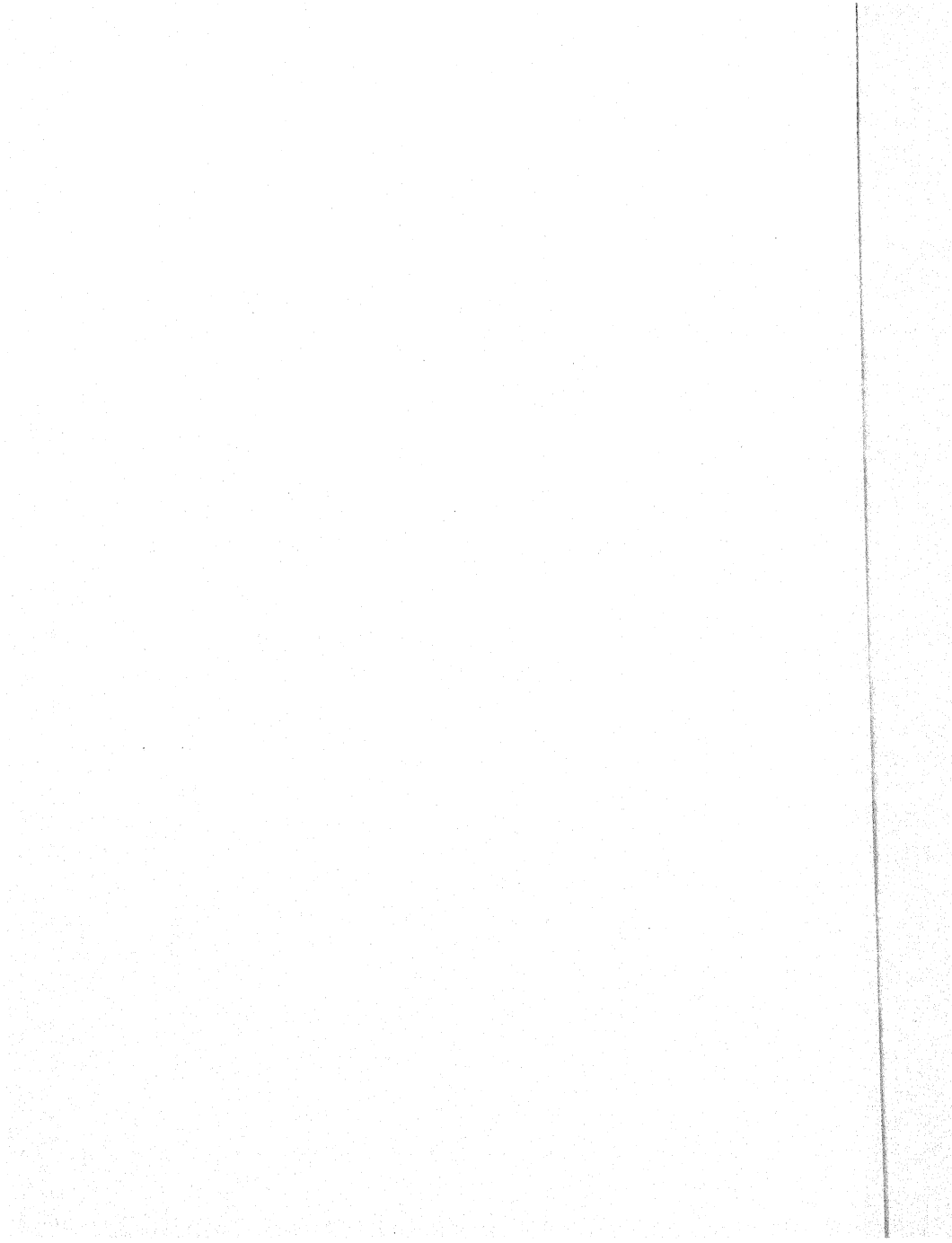
¹ The *monastery of Clement* (see below) was given to the Iberians with that of Kolobôs at Erissôs and another at Salonica by Basil Bulgaroktonos in 980 (Smyrnakes, p. 478; Gedeon, p. 171): see above, p. 15. ² Cf. Smyrnakes, p. 470. This chapel again is said to have occupied the site of a temple of Poseidon (Smyrnakes, p. 460). ³ Varasvatze is mentioned as the founder of Iveron by Cedrenus (724 P.) and Meletius of Athens (1028-1041, Έκκλ. Ίστ., ii, 388).



(a) GREGORIOU : GENERAL VIEW FROM SEA



(b) IVERON : GENERAL VIEW



IVERON

the monastery. In 979 Thornic, who had a great reputation as a soldier, was recalled from Athos by the Emperor to suppress a revolt, which he successfully accomplished. As a reward the imperial family interested themselves in the foundation of the Iberian monastery, which still acknowledges its connection with Lavra by the interchange of visits on the respective feast-days of the two monasteries. Thornic, the first abbot of the monastery, was succeeded by Euthymius, whose strict rule caused discontent among the monks, already partly Greeks. The *katholikòn* was built by George the Iberian, abbot from 1052 to 1056,¹ the present inscription² being probably not contemporary.

A chronicle of Iveron, written by various hands (the earliest about 1500), is printed by Gedeon.³ From this it appears that the monastery was twice sacked by pirates in the thirteenth century⁴ and remained in a depressed condition till the end of the fifteenth: this is consonant with the assessment of its inmates in 1489 by Isaias.⁵ Shortly

¹ The account of the foundation is given in greater detail by Riley from Georgian sources (*Athos*, p. 133). ² Millet, No. 231. ³ Pp. 172 ff. ⁴ Crusaders and Catalans?

⁵ Ed. Khitrovo, p. 262: above, p. 32, n. 1.

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before 1500, regardless of the fact that the Greek element had expelled the Iberians and their language from the *katholikòn* in the fourteenth century, a mission was sent to the King of Georgia, and by Georgian contributions the monastery was rebuilt. A century later the house was again poor and indebted, and was again aided by the King of Georgia as by general subscriptions. In the seventeenth century much building was carried out with Georgian, Moldo-Wallachian, and other funds, a characteristic *lacuna* marking the period of the Cretan War: in 1654¹ the Tzar Alexius presented the monastery with the rich *metochi* of St. Nicolas at Moscow in return for his miraculous healing by a specially made copy² of the *eikon* of the Virgin of the Gate: to this gift Iveron owes much of its present wealth.

The buildings of the monastery have suffered much in recent times from fire (1860) and earthquake (1900 ?) but have been rebuilt on a larger

¹ So Smyrnakes (p. 479). Gedeon (pp. 171-2) says 1669.

² The copy was made with extraordinary care to ensure its sanctity; the panel on which it was to be painted was first washed with water with which the original had been washed. The colours were mixed with holy water, and the painting was done exclusively on Saturdays and Sundays at the time of the *ἀγρυπνία* or continuous service (Smyrnakes, p. 480).

IVERON

scale and retain for the most part a harmonious and old-fashioned appearance. The site (Pl. 24) is a small plain giving on the sea. The court is planned four-square with large projecting buttress-towers at regular intervals, bridged by the galleries of the upper floors. The ancient tower at the south-west corner has fallen into ruin. The entrance is in the middle of the north side by a colonnaded porch with square pillars in the modern barbarized classical style, wholly out of keeping with the character of the building. Inside the court on the right stand the chapels of the Baptist, our Lady of the Gate (Π. Ποταΐτισσα) with a famous wonder-working picture,¹ and the *katholikòn*. The exteriors of the two latter have suffered somewhat from barbarous restoration. The *katholikòn*, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, is of the usual plan with two side-chapels of St. Nicolas and the Archangels respectively. The clock-tower is attached to the *narthex* in front of the south chapel as at Vatopedi. The *exonarthex* is of the early nineteenth century and has very elaborate tile and plate decoration, the

¹ For example, an "Arab" raider struck the image, was converted by a miracle, and became first a monk and finally a saint under the name of Barbaros (Smyrnakes, "Άγιον Όρος, p. 471).

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plates accentuating the extremities of the tile crosses. The interior is in the usual style, boasting a fine marble mosaic pavement, a dado of the same material, and a very fine modern Russian *corona*.

Immediately facing the entrance to the monastery stands the old tower which marked the original south-west corner of the court. A considerable extension on this side was made in the early years of the nineteenth century.¹ In this half of the court stands the refectory, with kitchen and bakery adjoining; the *phiale* is as usual between the refectory and the church, the bell-tower (modern) over the entrance to the refectory.

The 'Arsenal' has an imposing tower (Pl. 25) of late date with a broad *machicoulis* on either face: it seems originally to have been connected with the monastery by a covered way.

The Georgians, who were, be it remembered, since 1829 Russian subjects, have made some attempts to establish themselves at least as dependents in the territory of the monastery: with Russian diplomatic support they have bought a cell of Iveron, which is now inhabited by forty monks, and built a considerable church. This

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 465.

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measure of success has not been obtained without bribery, which, however, has not enabled them to change the status of the cell to that of a coenobiac *skete*.¹

Building dates :—

976. *Katholikòn* built (Brockhaus, p. 287, no. 6).
1052–1056. Inscr. of George the Iberian (Millet, 231).
c. 1492. Domes, etc., of *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 291, no. 87).
1513. Tower and *katholikòn* (Millet, 220).²
1614. Screen in *katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 293, no. 126).
1614. Repairs to *exo-narthex* (Smyrnakes, p. 469).
1625. Arsenal (Millet, 289, 290).
1680–1683. Church of Portaîtissa (Millet, 263–4).
1848. Refectory (Millet, 275).
1860. New buildings (Brockhaus, p. 294, no. 154).
1867. Porch of entrance (Smyrnakes, p. 472).
1885. Cells South (Millet, 277).

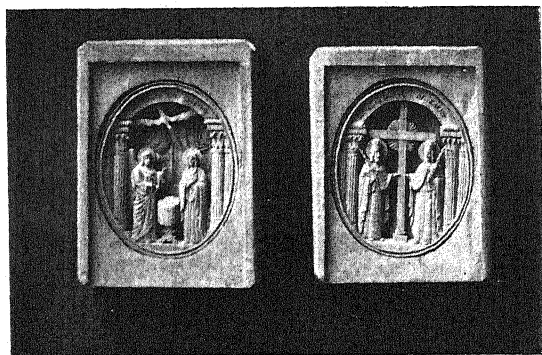
¹ Smyrnakes, p. 474.

² See Gedeon, p. 173.

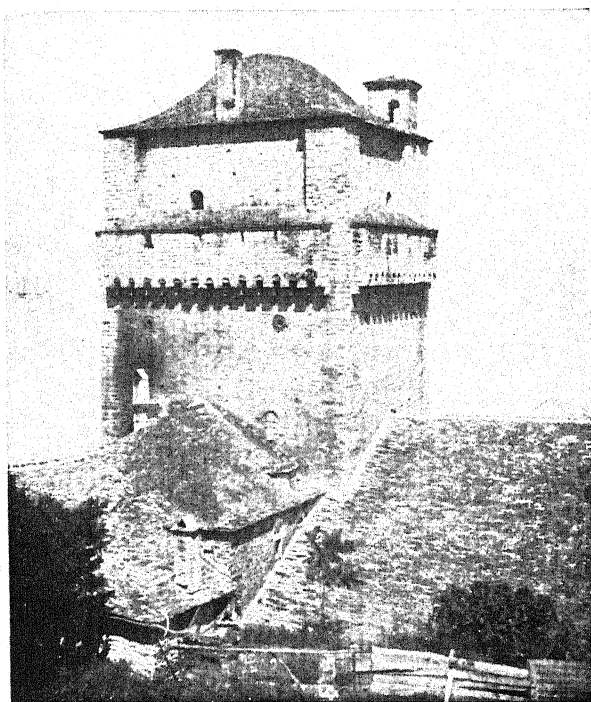
CHAPTER XXII

KARYÈS AND THE CHURCH OF PROTÁTON

KARYÈS ('the Hazels'), the market and administrative centre of the peninsula, lies a long hour from Iveron on the side of a hill. The village consists of a long crooked street (Pl. 3), paved in the Turkish manner with large uneven cobbles, and containing the governor's house and sundry inns and shops. At the latter may be purchased various pious souvenirs of the Mountain, photographs, beads, and especially carved woodwork, chiefly spoons, crosses, and small pocket *eikons* (ἐγκόλπια: Pl. 25). This carving industry is of old standing on Athos, being mentioned already in the sixteenth century. The work is exceedingly fine and, owing to the strong conservatism of the *eikon* types, the Byzantine tradition of the mediaeval ivory-workers has been handed down almost intact. The industry is carried on chiefly on the slopes of the Mountain



(a) CARVED ENKÔLPIA
 i. Annunciation ii. SS. Constantine and Helen



(b) IVERON : TOWER OF ARSENAL
 (By kind permission of Brit. Sch. Ann.)

KARYÈS AND THE CHURCH OF PROTÁTON

itself, where cultivation is limited or impossible, especially in the *sketae* of Kapsokalývia and Katounákia. Above and below the street are grouped various cells and the Residencies (*Kovákia*) of the several monasteries. The slopes around the village are chiefly cultivated as vineyards and gardens by the occupants of the cells.

Just off the street, and approached through an arch under the eighteenth century bell-tower are the buildings occupied by the Community and the central church of Protáton, which derives its name from the *Prôtos* of Athos.

The church, which is the only building of interest in the group, stands in a small court and was probably once a monastic church like the rest.¹ It is reputed the oldest building on Athos, being attributed to a tenth century rebuilding of an original church of Constantine: the Constantinian legend may be as usual discarded. In later tradition the church figures as one of those burnt by Michael Palaeologus, after which it was rebuilt by John Bogdan, Voivode of Moldavia, in 1508.² The 'Pansélenos' frescoes of the interior date

¹ It is reckoned amongst the monasteries by Zosimus and Isaias (Khitrovo, pp. 208 and 262).

² Millet, Inscr. I.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

according to Brockhaus between 1282-1328,¹ just after the traditional burning of the church.

The type of the church (Pl. 10) diverges widely from the normal either on Athos or elsewhere, though the plan of the Greek cross inscribed in a square is adhered to. There is no dome, the nave being treated as such and running through to the chancel: the roof is throughout of timber. The four corner compartments (of which the eastern, contrary to Athonite usage, serves as *próthesis* and *diakonikòn*) are treated as separate rooms cut off by walls and doorways from the main hall. The eastern apses are planned on the curve outside, the transeptal apses omitted, and the *narthex* is a simple narrow passage along the west front of the church.

The interior is gloomy and dignified, and contains remains of really fine frescoes attributed to Pansélenos, as also a series of *eikons* representing

¹ P. 290 (57). But Diehl in his recent *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* (p. 763), though he accepts the traditional date of the church, places Pansélenos' *floruit* in the early sixteenth century. My own idea is that the church, as we have it at least, dates from the sixteenth century rebuilding: the way it is planned, according to Brockhaus (p. 23), seems to come nearer the refectory of Lavra (also sixteenth century: Fig. 2) than anything I know.

KARYÈS AND THE CHURCH OF PROTÁTON

the patron saints of the twenty sovereign monasteries.

Building dates :—

X cent. (middle). Church of Protaton (Brockhaus, p. 287, no. 11).

c. 1300. Paintings (Brockhaus, p. 290, no. 57).

1508. Repairs (Millet, 1).

1512-1526. Paintings of *narthex* (Brockhaus, p. 291, nos. 100, 101).

1781. Bell tower (Millet, 36).

CHAPTER XXIII

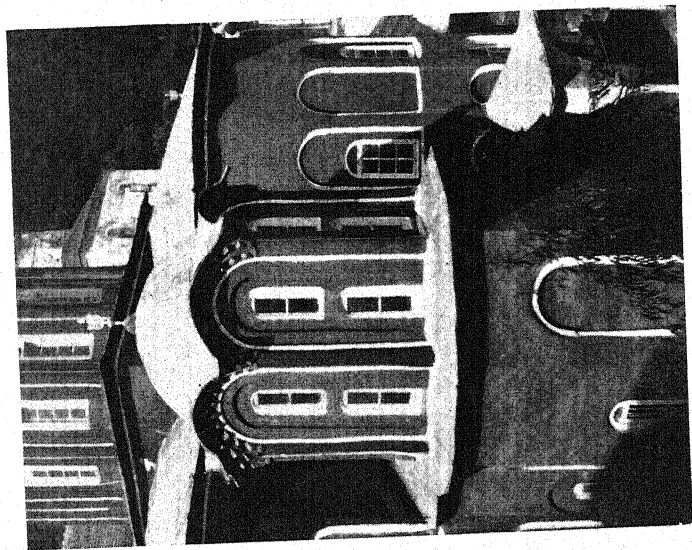
KOUTLOUMOUSÍOU

KOUTLOUMOUSÍOU stands about a quarter of an hour from Karyès in pleasant undulating country including pasture, woods, and vineyards.

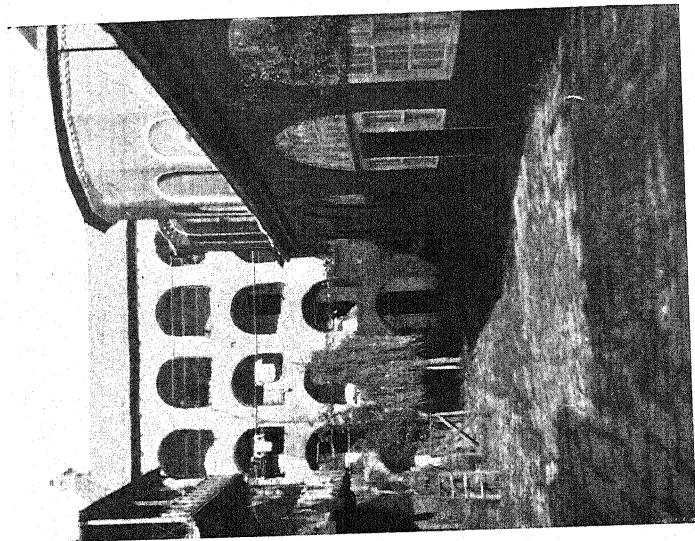
The traditional founder was a converted Seldjuk Turkish prince Aseddin Koutlounmoush, whose mother was a Christian. He is said to have lived in the reign of Andronicus II (1282-1328). The *Proskynetáριον* of Komnenos, however, attributed the foundation to Alexius Comnenus, which would place it a hundred years earlier and, according to Smyrnakes,¹ the monastery is mentioned in a document of Zographou as early as 988. The latest of the three dates is accepted by Langlois and Uspensky.

The monastery, said to have been one of those which suffered under Michael Palaeologus, absorbed

¹ P. 518.



(a) KOUTLOUMOUSIOU : N.E. APSE OF CHURCH



(b) KOUTLOUMOUSIOU : N. SIDE OF CHURCH AND E. RANGE
[face p. 172]



KOUTLOUMOUSIOU

Philadelphou in 1334 and Alypiou in 1428. It was restored in the early part of the sixteenth century by Neagoe Bassarabas and other voivodes and seems to have fallen definitely under their patronage.¹

It has suffered much from fires, the east wing being destroyed in 1767, the west in 1856, and the north and south in 1870.

The monastery became a *coenobion* in 1856 but has changed its rule several times since.²

The present buildings are largely recent, partly owing to troubles during the Revolutionary period, to which the monastery was particularly exposed by its proximity to Karyès,³ and partly because of the series of disastrous fires in the last century.⁴ The *katholikòn*, dedicated to the Transfiguration, is old and has slender domes over the polygonal side apses (Pl. 26): there is a chapel on the north side, dedicated to the Φοβερὰ Προστασία (the Virgin). The tower (at the south-west corner) is old (1508) but plain. The east range (Pl. 26), in four storeys of arcaded brickwork, was built after

¹ 'Appartenant au voivode de Moldavie' (Isaias in Khitrovo, p. 262).

² Cf. Riley (p. 265) and Tozer (*Researches*, i, 69).

³ Curzon in 1837 found it nearly deserted (p. 294).

⁴ Smyrnakes, p. 523.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

the fire in 1767 and is a good example of the period: there is a good deal of faïence built into it and into the contemporary *exo-narthex*. The west range was destroyed by fire in 1856 and the north and south in 1870¹; all have been rebuilt in a plain solid style, the lower part of the old south range being incorporated. The clock-tower, facing the entrance, dates from 1808. The refectory, abutting on the west wall, is modern.

Building dates:—

1508. Tower (Smyrnakes, p. 523).

By 1540.² *Katholikòn* (Brockhaus, p. 291, no. 97 :
cf. p. 292, no. 103).

1733. North chapel (Smyrnakes, p. 523).

Before 1744. *Exo-narthex* (Smyrnakes, p. 523).

1767. East range (Smyrnakes, p. 523).

1808. Bell-tower (F.W.H.).

c. 1860. New buildings (Brockhaus, p. 294,
no. 154).

1890–1897. New buildings (Smyrnakes, p. 523).

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 523.

² The date of the paintings.

CHAPTER XXIV

PHILOTHÉOU

PHILOTHÉOU is one of the poorer monasteries, and architecturally the least interesting. The buildings surrounding the court are modern and perfectly plain. The *katholikôn*, dedicated to the Annunciation, seems to date from the eighteenth century but preserves much of the old style. The western bell-tower directly over the entrance to the church is an unusual feature, found also at Karakallou.

The foundation of Philotheou is variously attributed :—

- (a) To a ninth century hesychast Philótheos.¹
- (b) To a group of three monks, Arsenios, Philotheos, and Dionysius² (about the middle of the eleventh century).
- (c) To the Patriarch Philotheos (middle of the fourteenth century).³

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 583. ² Smyrnakes, *ibid.* ; Komnenos, *Proskynetarion*, p. 131 ; cf. Gedeon, p. 61 ; a document of 1046 is cited by Langlois, p. 43. ³ Riley (p. 150), from the monks, but cf. the document of 1046 in Langlois, p. 43.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

Though the foundation of the monastery as such can hardly be placed as early as the ninth century, Philotheou is mentioned by its present name as early as 992, and some such date seems to be generally accepted.¹

A secondary founder is the Emperor Nicephorus Botoniates (1078–1081), who restored the monastery then in ruins, and gave it numerous relics.² Other secondary founders are the Georgian princes Leontius and his son Alexander, who are responsible for a well-documented restoration about 1540.³ The chrysobulls are of Andronicus II Palaeologus, John Palaeologus, 1344, and Stephen Dushan, 1346.

The monastery was burnt to the ground in 1871 except the *katholikòn* and the refectory. The previous domestic buildings are said by Smyrnakes⁴ to have been of the seventeenth century.

Building dates :—

1747–1765. *Katholikòn* and paintings (Millet, 292, and Smyrnakes, p. 584).

After 1871. Buildings of Court (Smyrnakes, p. 585).

¹ Cf. Gedeon, p. 187, quoting Uspensky.
² Smyrnakes, p. 583.

³ Millet, Inscr. 304, 305.

⁴ P. 585.

CHAPTER XXV

KARAKÁLLOU

THE monastery of Karakállou, dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, lies half an hour from Philotheou, a few minutes above the sea.

Particulars as to the original foundation are lacking, but it seems generally accepted that the monastery dates from the reign of Romanus Diogenes (1068-1071), of whom it possesses or possessed a document.¹ The founder is said to have been a certain Nicolas Karakallos or of Karakalla,² though the Emperor Caracalla has been made to figure as κτίτωρ (founder) in a fresco. An abbot is known from documents as early as 1087. In Isaias' list (1489) Karakallou figures as an 'Arnaout' (*i.e.*, Albanian) monastery.

¹ Smyrnakes, p. 576, cf. p. 578. It may be worth recording here that Thevet (who never visited the Mountain) mentions an inscription at Karakallou to the effect that the monastery was founded by Theodora, sister of Zoe, in 1008 (*Cosm. Univ.* ii, 811a): but Theodora reigned in 1042, nearly the date reached independently. ² For the family Karakallos see Gedeon's note (216, p. 186). Smyrnakes doubts whether the Wallachian village is not meant (p. 576, quoting Kastorches, Περὶ τῆς ἐν Δημιτσάνῃ Ἐκκλ. Σχολῆς, p. 43).

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

As second founders are cited Petros¹ Rarès of Moldavia (1527-1538 and 1541-1546), and his *protospathários*, who restored the monastery, both becoming monks under the name of Pachomios. Both were celebrated by paintings,² and a contemporary inscription (1534) remains at the arsenal.³ The older parts of the monastery and the *katholikòn* seem to be their work.⁴ Another benefactor about this time was Alexander IV of Moldavia and his wife Roxandra, who were also benefactors of Docheiariou.⁵

The monastery has suffered recently (1874) from a fire which destroyed the east range, but is now well-to-do and nearly rebuilt.

The buildings of Karakallou⁶ form from without one of the most characteristic groups on Athos. The court is small and compact. In the centre of the western side rises a fine tower (Pl. 27) with a broad *machicoulis* projected on bold corbels: the design resembles that of the tower at Docheiariou.

¹ Cf. the dedication of the monastery. Thevet (*loc. cit.*) says it had been sacked by Sultan Murad. ² Millet, *Inscr.* 311. ³ *Ibid.*, *Inscr.* 332. ⁴ See below. Smyrnakes

(p. 577) gives a translation of the *firman* authorising the building of the church. ⁵ The towers of the two monasteries are almost identical in design. ⁶ For the name see

Lambros in *Néos 'Ell.*, viii, 236.





KARAKALLOU

The other buildings of the court are comparatively uninteresting, the earliest (north side) dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, while the latest are still under construction. The church is only remarkable for the position of its tower, over the centre of the west front as at Philotheou ; in it is the library.

The tower on the shore—there is no real port—is picturesque but rather skimpy in its proportions. It is not strictly an ‘arsenal,’ since it provides no shelter for boats, but rather a small fort like that at the port of Lavra.

Building dates :—

1534. Tower by sea (Millet, 332).

1535. General restoration (Smyrnakes, p. 575).

1548–1563. Repairs to *katholikòn* (Smyrnakes, p. 577).

1707. Cells to North (Millet, 325).

1714. *Katholikòn* rebuilt (Millet, 306–7).

1715. Walls near gate (Millet, 327).

[1687. Old refectory (burnt 1874) (Millet, 322).]

1879. Refectory (Millet, 323).

1880. Fire and partial rebuilding of E. wing (Smyrnakes, p. 578).

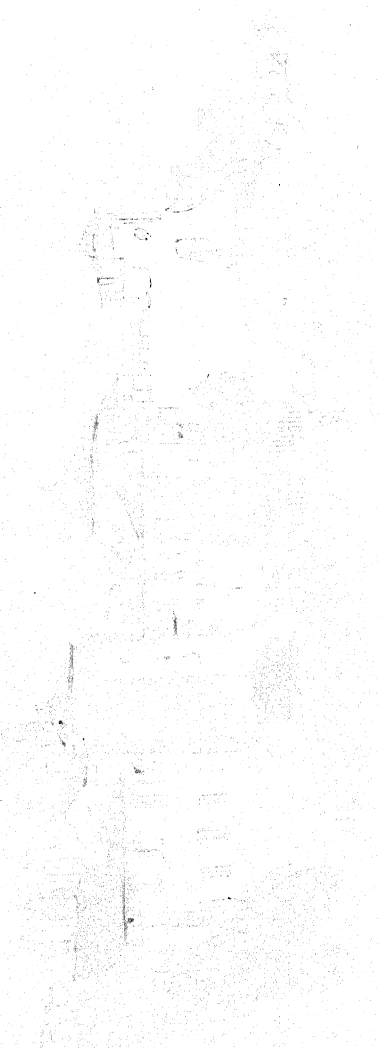
CHAPTER XXVI

LÁVRA

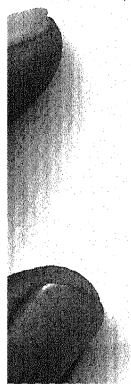
LÁVRA¹ lies four hours from Karakallou on a gentle slope half an hour from the sea. A small and very picturesque cove, like a Cornish fishing harbour, does duty as a port, and is commanded by a massive tower, square in plan with rounded corners, with a deeply recessed arch in either corner and two in either side. The fortress is approached from the land by a bridge, till recently a drawbridge.

Lavra, though the senior monastery both in age and standing, has had a chequered career. Of its foundation by St. Athanasius and immediate success we have spoken above. At the death of the saint he was canonised and a chapel dedicated to him in which the monks take their vows. Relics of the founder are still shewn.

¹ A description of Lavra about 1400 is given by Ignatius of Smolensk (1487) (*Khitrovo, Itin. Russes*, p. 147).



LAVRA : WALLS



LAVRA

The monastery seems to have been idiorrhhythmic before 1573, when the Patriarch Jeremias II made it a *coenobion*¹: at the beginning of the next century (1623) it had only five or six monks² and was in extreme poverty in spite of generous donations from the hospodars in the preceding century and the reform of 1573. There was some attempt to found a new Lavra, but in the end the monks returned to the old buildings. At the end of the century Lavra seems to have recovered somewhat, but in 1799 we find it again so poor that it had sold its holy vessels.

Lavra is not only the earliest and most holy of all the monasteries but also the largest in area. The buildings from outside present exactly the appearance of a small walled town. The space enclosed by the walls is a rough oblong with a considerable projection on the south side. Towers are numerous, but only that attributed to Tzimiskes, a massive construction much less lofty than the usual Athos type and without the *machicoulis*, is an important feature.

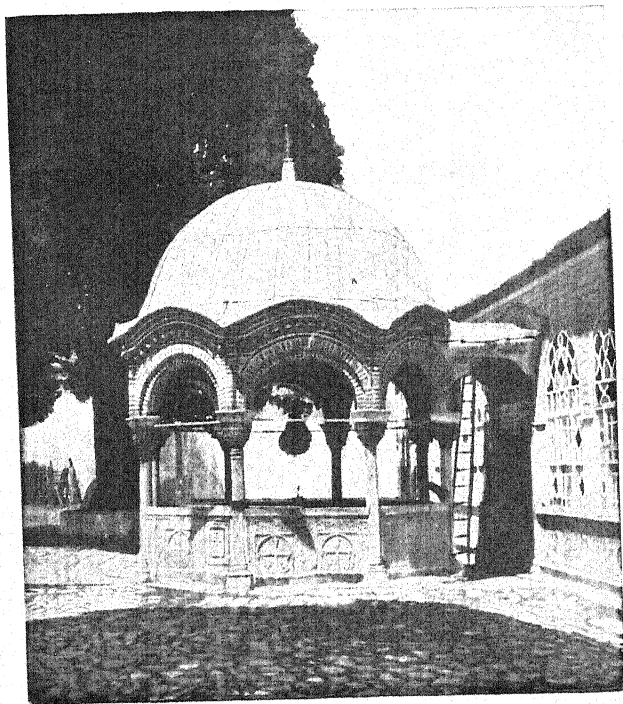
¹ Smyrnakes, p. 399, cf. Paisius (not a *coenobion* in 1550: Khitrovo, p. 280). ² Smyrnakes, p. 395; cf. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia*, p. 342. Paisius in 1550 says there were then three hundred monks.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

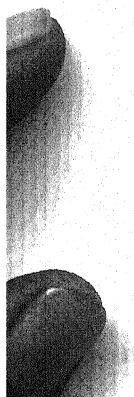
The gateway, at the north-west corner, is prefaced by the usual late domed porch and gives on a small fore-court. The main court is so encumbered with buildings as to give a rather confused appearance, though there are corners of great beauty. Of free-standing buildings the chief are the *katholikòn*, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, and the refectory. Between them stands the fine sixteenth century *phiale* (Pl. 29), flanked by two cypresses said to have been planted by St. Athanasius and his disciple Euthymius.

The *katholikòn* (Pl. 9) is of unusual interest since, as Millet¹ has shown, it is to a very large extent at least the church built by Athanasius and has served as the model of the Athonite churches in general. It consists as usual of *naòs*, *narthex*, and *exo-narthex*, with two flanking chapels dedicated to the Forty Martyrs (left) and St. Nicolas (right). A third *narthex*, held by Millet to replace an original building, has been added in recent times. The *naòs* has already transeptal apses²:

¹ *B.C.H.*, xxix, 72 ff. ² These occur first in the Constantinian basilica at Bethlehem (see above, p. 98, n.): Millet derives the Athos form from churches like St. Andrew *ἐν Κρίει* at Constantinople. For its later diffusion in Greek lands see Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 86, note 1.



LAVRA : PHIALE
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LAVRA

the main dome, the largest on Athos in diameter and rather squat in shape, is supported not on columns but on piers of masonry, the eastern pair being extensions of the apse walls. The *eso-narthex* is narrow and roofed with a dome and two half domes. It communicates with the side-chapels as do the *naòs* and *exo-narthex*. The latter is also narrow. Both chapels have the fully developed church type with domes resting on four columns.¹ As to decoration, the mosaic pavement of the *naòs* and the frieze of Persian tile in the transeptal apses are noteworthy, as are the paintings in the chapel of St. Nicolas.

The refectory (Fig. 2), built by Gennadios, Archbishop of Serres, in 1512,² is the finest on Athos. It is a cruciform hall with an apse at the west end, the entrance being from a porch extending along the east front. The interspaces between the porch and the limits of the cross are occupied by small rooms for the distribution of commons and utensils. The corresponding inter-

¹ The apses of these chapels like those of the transepts are by exception round outside. ² Millet, Inscr. 397 and notes.

For the tradition that the original refectory had a domed roof (Smyrnakes, p. 391) Millet's quotation from the Lavriote MSS. 802 is sufficient explanation.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

spaces at the west end serve for the kitchen and bread-store. The refectory is decorated with paintings of the sixteenth century and covered with a timber roof. The tables are of marble and D-shaped.

The churches of Panagia Koukouzelitissa (named after the singer Joannes Koukouzeles) and St. Michael of Synnada, a recent construction, are also free-standing buildings.

Of the ranges of cells should be noticed the old wooden-galleried building lying back from the court on the south side, which is probably sixteenth century, the old hospital building (now guest-house) on the north, which is dated 1580 but seems to owe much to a rebuilding about 1800,¹ and the range at the extreme east of the court (1806), a satisfactory example of solid squared stone and tile in courses without arcades.

Building dates :—

963. *Katholikòn* (traditional) (Brockhaus, p. 287, no. 2).

970. 'Tower of Tzimiskes' (traditional) (Brockhaus, p. 287, no. 4).

¹ As this building now stands, it seems to be eighteenth-nineteenth century work.

LAVRA

[1060. *Narthex* of *katholikòn* (rebuilt in 1814)
(Millet, 333)].

1512. Timber roof of refectory (Millet, 397).

1522, 1564, 1688. Repairs to 'tower of Tzimiskes'
(Millet, 411-41).

1535. Paintings of *katholikòn* (Millet, 339).

1560. Paintings of chapel of St. Nicolas
(Millet, 373).

1578. Paintings of chapel of forty Martyrs
(Millet, 369).

1580. Hospital (now guest-house) (Millet,
388).

XVI cent. *Phiale* (Brockhaus, p. 292, no.
114).

1643-1653. Chapel of Michael of Synnada (Millet,
383).

1713. Chapel of P. Koukouzelítissa (Millet,
377; Smyrnakes, p. 390).

CHAPTER XXVII

ST. PAUL'S

THE road from Lavra to St. Paul's (Ἁγίου Παύλου) passes through the wildest scenery on the Mountain. The Rumanian *skete* of the Baptist is passed on the left after one hour. After this the country becomes wilder and the road rougher. It is here, round the skirts of the main peak, that the hermitages of the ascetics abound. Three hours from Lavra the road falls precipitously by the *skete* of St. Anna nearly to sea-level, after which the track passes along the coast by the tower and scattered hermitages of Nea Skete, debouching into the broad stony stream-bed commanded by the monastery of St. Paul.

The building (Pl. 18) stands on a levelled shelf of rock backed by a crag. Three sides only of the court are formed by ranges of buildings, of which the most important is the west. This faces the sea and stands high above the ravine. The fourth

ST. PAUL'S

(east) side (against the crag) is supplied by a battlemented wall.

The traditional founder of the monastery of St. Paul is one Procopios Rhangabès of the imperial house, known in religion as Paul of Xeropotamou. He appears to have been a contemporary of St. Athanasius and is said to have gone as a missionary to Bulgaria. The monastery, originally a dependency of Xeropotamou, became independent by a patriarchal *sigillion* of 1404. According to the account heard by Riley at the monastery it was at this date bought up by two Serbian nobles.¹ In the fifteenth century it had many Serbian benefactors; the old *katholikòn* was built by George Brancovitch in 1447.² In the two following centuries the Rumanian princes, and in the eighteenth the Russians, were responsible for many of the buildings. The inmates in 1833 were according to Webber Smith 'Servian and Bulgarian,'³ and so late as 1837 Curzon saw there a large number of Slavonic MSS. now vanished.

Of the buildings of St. Paul's there is little

¹ Cf. Millet's note on Inscr. 426.

² Millet, Inscr. 426.

³ *J.R.G.S.*, vii, 72.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

to be said architecturally, all but the tower, *katholikòn*, and campanile having been destroyed by a disastrous fire in 1902. The substantial rebuilding has impoverished the monastery, which was formerly one of the richest on the peninsula. The buildings destroyed by the fire seem to have dated largely from the early nineteenth century.

Building dates :—

1447. Old *katholikòn* (Millet, 426).

1522. Tower (Millet, 446–7).

1844. *Katholikòn* (Millet, 428–9).

After 1902. Present buildings except tower
and *katholikòn*.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DIONYSÍOU

FROM St. Paul's to Dionysíou is a tiring hour by an unmade track following the coast. The intercommunications of all these coast monasteries are naturally by sea.

The founder of the monastery was Dionysius, an Athonite monk from the district of Kastorià, who saw a miraculous light burning on the site of the present monastery. He interested Alexius III of Trebizond in the foundation, and the bull of Alexius (1380 or 1385) is preserved.¹ A disastrous fire in 1535 destroyed most of the monastery, which was subsequently rebuilt at the charges of Peter, Voivode of Wallachia, and his family. It seems, however, to have been of no great importance till the eighteenth-nineteenth century, when it appears first to have taken rank

¹ The text is given by Dräseke in *Byz. Zeit.*, ii (1893), pp. 86 ff.

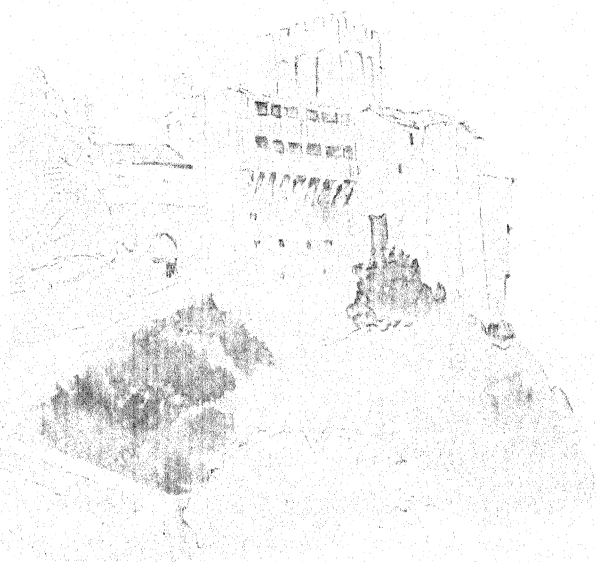
ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

among the first-class monasteries: though now poor, it still retains this rank.

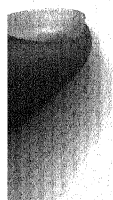
Dionysiou (Pl. 23) stands on a precipitous and nearly isolated rock overlooking the sea. A steep paved path winds up from the port behind the rock to the gate; the latter, with the aqueduct, is situated on the east side of the rock, where it is connected by a neck of rock with the hill behind. The court is very small, barely large enough for the church; a great deal of the available area is taken up by the wide ranges of buildings surrounding it, which have been enlarged by buttressing and galleries. The church, built by the voivode Peter, is of the usual type, with one (north) flanking chapel and domes over the apses. The central dome is remarkably squat in elevation and five-sided. The *narthex* is connected by porticoes with the buildings of the court.

The whole of the south side of the court is taken up by the cloister of the refectory, the walls of which, as of the refectory itself, are covered with paintings. The refectory is of the headless cross plan, but seems to have been originally a plain rectangle to which a wing (forming the foot of the cross) has been added later southwards. The

Plate 30



DIONYSIOU



DIONYSIOU

whole of this south side, seen from without, is an extraordinary medley of superimposed galleries. East of and adjoining the refectory are the buttery and kitchen. At the south-east corner of the court is the belfry, here by exception a step-gabled bell-cote of the Italian type found frequently in the Cyclades. The tower, containing the library, occupies part of the north side of the court, and has been enclosed by the monastic buildings ; it antedates the fire of 1535, bearing, as it does, an inscription of Neagoe Bassarabas.

Building dates :—

1520. Tower (Millet, 494).

1547. *Katholikòn* and frescoes (Millet, 458).

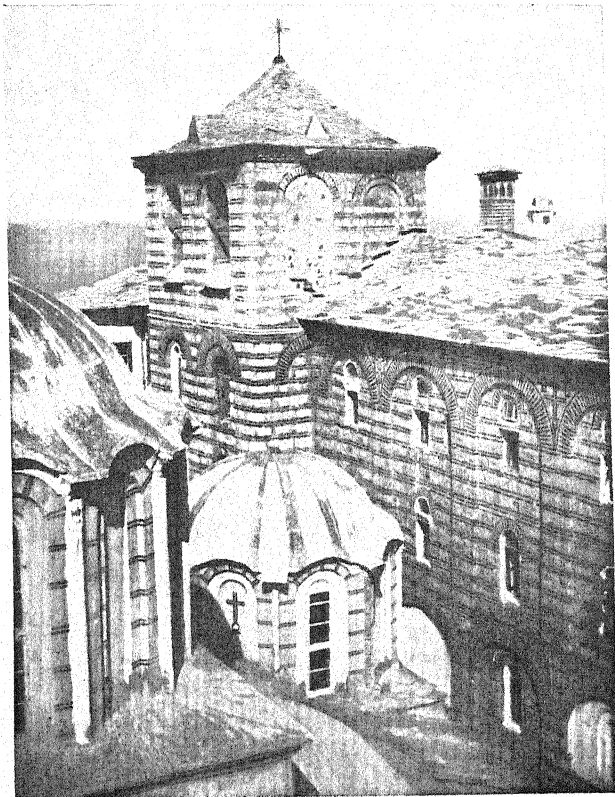
1603. Paintings of refectory (Millet, 491).

CHAPTER XXIX

GREGORÍOU

THE next monastery, Gregoríou, is a very picturesque but somewhat humble pile of buildings situated on a low rocky peninsula (Pl. 24) about an hour from Dionysiou. The founder (about 1345) was a certain Saint (ἅγιος) Gregory, variously said to have been a monk of Sinai and a native of Vourla in Asia Minor. The monastery was restored by the Rumanian voivodes at various dates, last in 1761-83, when a disastrous fire had destroyed all the buildings. The then *skevophylax* was a special favourite of the hospodars as having ransomed many Moldavians from slavery.

The present buildings are of two periods ; the older portion dates from the period subsequent to the fire of 1761. To the oblong court running east and west then constructed was applied in recent years a forecourt with ranges of cells and



GREGORIOU : BELL TOWER
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a gate-house looking north on the port. Of this plain and solid building no more need be said.

The old court has the usual features. The *katholikòn* (St. Nicolas) has but one flanking chapel on the north side. The refectory (at the south-west corner of the court) is connected with the west door of the church by a rough cloister and overlooks the sea. In the north range there is a good bell-tower (Pl. 31) of tile and stone in bands. The great tower was at the highest point of the site, *i.e.*, the landward end, and here, according to the monks, was the original entrance.

Building dates :—

[1761. Destroyed by fire (Millet, 496)].

c. 1776. Cells to North (Millet, 515).

1779. Paintings of *katholikòn* (Millet, 496).

1783. Cells to South (Millet, 514).

1891-1896	} New buildings	{ (Millet, 516-18 ; Smyr- nakes, p. 630). (Smyrnakes, p. 630).
1900		

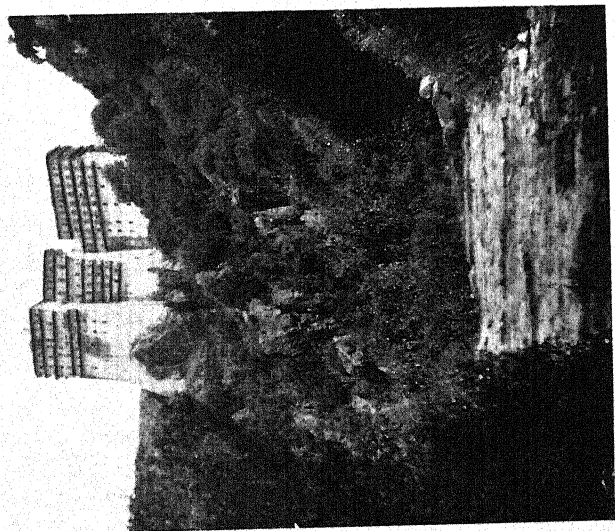
CHAPTER XXX

SIMÓPETRA

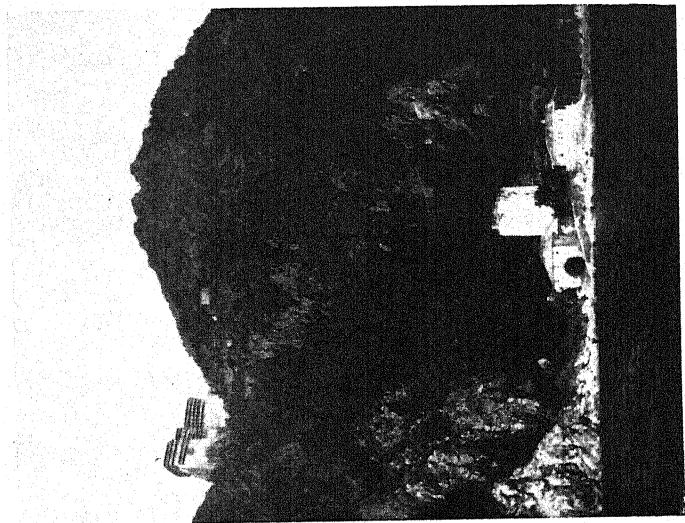
THE last of the twenty monasteries, Simópetra or Simónos Pétra, occupies a unique site only comparable to those of the Metéora monasteries in Thessaly. It is built on the top of a high, isolated, and precipitous rock, approached by a steep paved ascent (Pl. 32) from its 'arsenal,' a picturesque building with a simple tower.

Simópetra was founded about 1363 by a hermit named Simon, aided by John Uglitch, King of Serbia,¹ traditionally as a thank-offering for the healing of his daughter by the intercession of St. Simon. The monastery has been frequently burnt and repaired (last in 1893), and has passed through two periods of great depression. In the eighteenth century it became so impoverished that it was administered for a time by the Community: a mission was sent to Georgia and elsewhere to collect funds and in 1801 the monastery

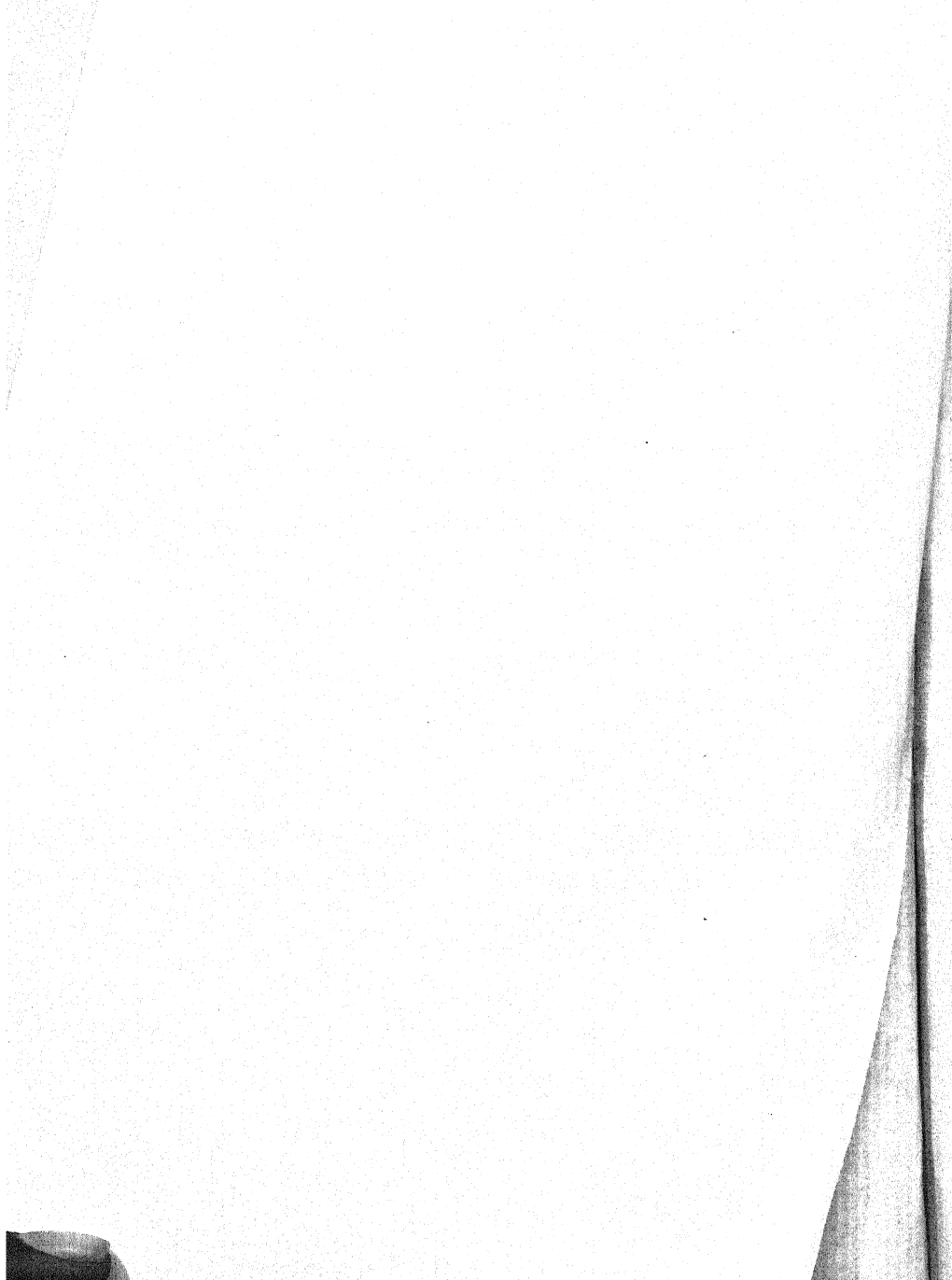
¹ Cf. document cited by Langlois, p. 60.



(a) SIMÓPETRA : SEAWARD FACE



(b) SIMÓPETRA AND ITS ARSENAL



SIMÓPETRA

became a *coenobion*. At the Revolution, again, Simópetra was abandoned by the monks and occupied by a Turkish garrison, who spoiled it. After this it again came into the hands of the Community and was for many years deep in debt. In 1862-64, important works were undertaken for the extension of the available space by buttressing, but a devastating fire occurred in 1891, in which only the relics were preserved. The present buildings, begun in 1892, are, apart from their extraordinary situation (Pl. 32), commonplace. Of the pile of buildings seen from without, only the two upper storeys open on the court, the rest being approached by staircases leading down from it. The entrance (from the east) is by a long ascending covered way. A picturesque feature is the massive aqueduct with three tiers of arches which approaches the monastery from this side.

Building dates :—

1567. Arsenal (Millet, 536).

1893. New *katholikòn*¹ (Millet, 528).

1891-1902. New buildings (Smyrnakes, pp. 593-4).

¹ The foundations of the old *katholikòn* are said to have been used for the new. It is small and of the usual type, with a simplified *narthex* roofed by a single dome.



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¹ A Bibliography of Athos is given by Langlois, but the fullest is that of Krumbacher, *Gesch. der Byz. Litt.*, pp. 513-14, which may be supplemented by those in the successive numbers of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. I have added to my list a note on English visitors to Athos. The classical references are collected by Oberhammer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyclopädie*: see also an article by M. Chrysochoüs in *Πατρασός*, vi, 151-8.

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It contains the accounts of :

- (iv) IGNATIUS of Smolensk (1389), p. 127 ff.
- (viii) ZOSIMUS of S. Sergius (1420), p. 197 ff.
- (xi) ISAIAS of Chilandari (1489), p. 257 ff.
- (xiii) GREGORY of Sinai (1547), p. 269 ff.
- (xv) PAISIUS of Chilandari (1550), p. 277 ff.

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(iv) P^m, 1869, i, 50-142.
(viii) 2 Sp. *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*,
(xi) 1 ff. Athens, 1853-1857.
(xiii) SMITH, J. In *J.R.G.S.*, vii (1837), pp. 65-73.
(Ics of St. Sergius : see KHRITROVO.

GLOSSARY

(a) Words in Latin script :

Agà (Tk.), minor official.

Altar, ἁγία τράπεζα.

Analogion (ἀναλόγι), reading-desk.

Apse, χορός.

Baptist, Πρόδρομος.

Bema (βῆμα), chancel.

Bostandji-bashi (Tk.), superintendent of police.

Celliote (κελλιότης), monk living in a hermitage.

Chancel, ἁγιον βῆμα.

Chrysoboullon χρυσόβουλλον), imperial charter.

Coenobion (κοινόβιον), see p. 34.

Corona (χορὸς), chandelier.

Diakonikòn (διακονικὸν), vestry.

Drungarius, commander of a *drungus* (1000-3000 men).

Ecclesiarches (ἐκκλησιάρχης), superintendent of the central church.

Enkolpion (ἐγκόλπιον), pocket-eikon.

Eso-narthex (ἔσω-νάρθηξ), inner vestibule.

Exo-narthex (ἔξω-νάρθηξ), outer vestibule.

Gerontes (γέροντες), Elders.

Hegoumenos (ἡγούμενος), abbot.

Hesychast (ἡσυχαστής), quietist.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

Idiorhythmic (ιδιορρυθμικός), p. 34.

Idiorhythmy (ιδιορρυθμία), p. 34.

Inchinare (Rumanian), dedicate.

Kaimakam (Tk.), third-class provincial governor.

Kaloira, kaloyer (καλόγηρος), monk.

Kalyvi (καλύβη), hermitage.

Katholikòn (καθολικὸν), main church, nave.

Kellion (κελλίον), hermitage not attached to a *skete*.

Khan (Tk.), galleried inn.

Kharadj (Tk.), head-tax on non-Moslems.

Kitchen, μαγειρεῖον.

Lavra (λαῦρα), loosely connected association of monks.

Litè (λιτὴ), outer *eso-narthex*.

Logothetes (λογοθέτης), secretary, chancellor.

Maktou (Tk.), fixed yearly tax.

Mesonyktikòn (μεσονυκτικὸν), inner *eso-narthex*.

Metochi (μετόχι), monastic estate.

Naos (ναὸς), nave.

Narthex (νάρθηξ), vestibule.

Nave, καθολικὸν (in narrower sense), or κυρίως ναός.

Oeconomus (οἰκονόμος), steward.

Pantokrator, Christ (*lit.* 'omnipotent').

Phiale (φιάλη), well.

Pocket-eikon, ἐγκόλπιον.

Portaitissa (Πορταίτισσα), Our Lady of the Gate.

Primicerius (πριμικήριος), first officer of the palace.

Protepistates (πρωτεπιστάτης), executive officer of the managing committee.

Prothesis (πρόθεσις), apse N. of chancel where elements are prepared.

GLOSSARY

Prôtos (Πρώτος ἡσυχαστής), Primate.
Proto-spatharios (πρωτοσπαθάριος), king's chief armour-bearer.

Reading-desk, ἀναλόγι, ἀναλογεῖον.

Refectory, τράπεζα.

Relic table, προσκυνητάριον.

'*Residence*,' καθέδρα τῶν Γερόντων.

Residency, κονάκι.

'*Rule*,' τυπικόν.

Screen, τέμπλον, εἰκονοστάσιον.

'*Seat*,' '*Residence*,' καθέδρα τῶν Γερόντων.

'*Seat*,' i.e. cell held by outsiders, κάθισμα, καθίσματα.

Semantron (σήμαντρον), wooden or iron gong.

Side-chapel (of narthex), παρεκκλήσιον.

Sigillion (σιγίλλιον), patriarchal bull.

Sirdárides (Tk.), rural police on Athos.

Skete (σκήτη), vide lavra.

Skevophylax (σκευοφύλαξ), sacristan.

Stall, στασείδιον, στασίδιον.

Stavropégion (σταυροπήγιον), fixing of the cross.

Stavròs (σταυρòς), cross.

Steward, οἰκονόμος.

Stratopedarch (στρατοπεδάρχης), major-general.

Synodikòn (συνοδικὸν), synod-room.

Three-handed Virgin, Παναγία Τριχεροῦσα.

Trustee, ἐπίτροπος.

Typikon (τυπικὸν), 'rule,' constitution, statutes.

Vestry, διακονικόν.

Voivode, governor.

Zone (Ζώνη), Girdle of the Virgin.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

(b) Words in Greek script ¹:

Ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα or μέγα σχῆμα, senior grade of monk.

Ἡ Ἀγία Σκέπη, Holy Veil.

Ἀγιασμός, μέγας, Epiphany.

Ἀγιασμός, μικρός, monthly blessing.

Ἀγία τράπεζα, altar.

Ἀγιον βῆμα, chancel.

Ἀγρυπνία, continuous service.

Ἀντιπρόσωπος, representative.

Ἀρσανᾶς, port-tower.

Ἀρχάριος, novice.

Ἀρχοντᾶριον, ἀρχονταρίκιον, guest-room.

Γερωντικὴ σύναξις, Elders' Assembly.

Γραμματικός, secretary.

Δικαίος, prior.

Δόκιμος, novice.

Εἰκονοστάσιον, screen.

Εἰκονόστασις, special stand for pictures.

Ἐπίτροπος, trustee of the monastery council.

Ἱερεὺς, priest in orders.

Ἱερομόναχος, monk.

Καθέδρα τῶν Γερόντων, 'Residence.'

Κάθισμα, 'seat.'

Καλύβη ἀσκητικὴ, cell inhabited by a single hermit.

Κατηχούμενον, gallery.

Κείρεται, 'takes the vows of the first grade' (*lit.* 'is shorn').

Κοίμησις, Dormition of Virgin.

Κοινότης, university, community.

¹ Greek words transcribed by my husband into Latin script are to be found only in the Latin glossary.

GLOSSARY

Κουκκούλιον, veil.

Κτίτωρ, founder, or re-founder.

Κυριακόν, church of a *lavra*.

Κυρίως ναός, nave.

Μαγειρείον, kitchen.

Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία, Patriarchate Church, Constantinople.

Μέγα Σχήμα, or ἀγγελικὸν σχῆμα, senior grade of monk.

Μικρόσχημος, first grade of monk (see also σταυροφόρος and ῥασοφόρος).

Μονή, monastery.

Μπαρμπακάς, fortress.

Ὁσιος, beatified.

Παγγενειώτης, junior monk in an idiorrhhythmic monastery.

Πανδόχος, beggar for the monastery.

Παραμικρός, junior monk in an idiorrhhythmic monastery.

Παρεκκλήσιον, side-chapel of the *narthex*.

Πατήρ, a fully qualified monk.

Πνευματικός, priest in orders.

Πρόδρομος, Baptist.

Προϋστάμενοι, older monks in the Elders' Assembly.

Προϋστάμενος, delegate to the managing committee of four.

Προσκυνητάριον, relic-stand.

Ῥαούσιοι, Ragusans.

Ῥασοφόρος, first grade of monk.

Ῥούσσοι, Ῥώσσοι, Russians.

Στασείδιον, στασιδίων, stall.

Σταυροφόρος, bearing the sign of the cross; or, first grade of monk.

Στρειδάς, oyster-man.

Συμπράκτωρ, assistant abbot.

Σύναξις, συνέδριον, assembly.

ATHOS AND ITS MONASTERIES

Τέμπλον, screen between chancel and nave.

Ὑποδιοικητής, third-class provincial governor.

Ὑποτακτικός, pupil, lay-brother.

Φοβερά Προστασία, Virgin Mary (*lit.* Dread Protector).

Χαμηλαύχιον, monk's cap.

Χορός, apse, corona.

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